RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE STRATEGY OF CHANGE

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The Strategy of Change

Charles P. Loomis

J. Allan Beegle

RURAL

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SOCIOLOGY

The Strategy of Change

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Foreword

R*ural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* is a unique and challenging contribution to the field of rural sociology. Introductory books in this field lack, as a rule, a well-knit analytical scheme. The content of instruction usually consists of descriptive accounts and bodies of fact, accompanied by a discussion of a variety of general principles. These general principles are usually presented as the broad propositions of a social philosophy; they are rarely sharpened as analytical tools that can be brought in close connection with the factual accounts. Furthermore, the general principles are scarcely ever tied together into an orderly and coherent system. The result is that the discussion is not suited to the systematic analysis of the important and concrete aspects of rural life. It rarely presents a workable scheme that can be readily used in the intellectual reduction of such concrete things as a rural community, a farmers' cooperative, a local school system, a church organization, or a given kind of family system. In other words, the reader is not given a scheme which would enable him to approach confidently any significant institution or part of rural life and to resolve this part into its essential social elements.

The outstanding merit of the present book is that it provides an analytical scheme that can be applied readily and meaningfully to the structure of rural society—to the whole structure or to any of its parts. This analytical scheme yields the kind of understanding that is sought by the detached scholar. But, in addition, it gives the kind of concrete and practical knowledge that is needed by the person who has to work with the instance of rural life under study—who may perhaps have the task of having to change it in significant ways.

The major ideas in the analytical scheme presented in this book are familiar to scholars engaged in advanced sociological analysis. The authors have done an admirable job in bringing these thoughts down to a more elementary level. They present the ideas in a clear and simple way. Through the use of apt illustrations and applications they give the ideas a concrete meaning which the interested reader will have no difficulty in grasping.

In large measure this successful presentation of the analytical scheme comes from the rich experience of the authors. They are well-known and distinguished rural sociologists. They have made many studies of rural life under very diverse conditions in different parts of the world. Frequently, they have been entrusted with the task of bringing about actual changes in different rural communities which they have studied. This intimate experience with rural life in its practical character has been combined with an abiding theoretical interest. In bringing together their close observations of rural life and their knowledge of advanced sociological theory, they have developed a scheme of analysis which rests solidly on both. The readers of this book will readily recognize that the authors are thoroughly at home in their field and are presenting a scheme that has successfully passed the tests of extensive practical application.

The need for incisive introductory books in rural sociology is pronounced and will undoubtedly become more pressing in the years ahead. The marked transformation of rural life going on in the United States calls for more, not less, concern with the rural segment of our national domain. Beyond this area a new and vast field is coming into being, calling for all of the knowledge, skills, and arts of rural sociology. I refer to the extensive development of new industrial areas in the world which has become one of the foremost issues and tasks of our times. To undertake this development intelligently and successfully, an ability to analyze, realistically, different forms of rural life and different kinds of rural institutions all over the world is called for. Above all, it requires an effective knowledge of the principles of social change, so that wise guidance may be exercised over the incorporation of such "underdeveloped" areas in an urbanized and industrialized orbit of life.

These intellectual demands which confront contemporary rural sociology are squarely faced by the authors. They have developed a scheme of sociological analysis which will give the reader a sound and meaningful orientation.

HERBERT BLUMER

Preface

WHETHER OR NOT ONE IS ENGAGED IN THE INitiation of social change, such social systems as schools, cooperatives, churches, friendship groups, families, and political parties play important roles in the lives of all of us. The professional, the housewife, the worker, and the farmer alike have responsibilities to organizations, to family, to community, and to country.

Most people are effective in their work and in their responsibilities as citizens when they possess more realistic knowledge of the social organizations within which they work and live: parents are more effective when they understand the functioning of the family and related systems; teachers accomplish more when they understand the functioning of schools in relation to themselves, students, administrators, and the community; and students, whether they live in rural or in urban areas, whether they become professionals, housewives, or engage in other vocations, have much to gain from the study of rural sociology.

For those who have professional responsibility for changing or improving rural life, this study should be especially useful. It deals with those aspects of society which are subject to change, as well as with those agencies and systems through which the change may be achieved. Consequently, it should be valuable to the teacher, the extension worker, the forester, the conservationist, the social worker, and all the others who, through the application of their professions, are attempting to improve rural life.

In the preceeding paragraphs, use has been made of concepts such as "groups," "organizations," and "social systems" without attempting to assign a special meaning to any of them. Other terms, such as "human groups" or "going concerns," might be utilized to examine the phenomena that we wish to consider. Our decision to use the idea of social system stems from our desire to concentrate on social interaction as considered in present-day sociology and anthropology. This permits us to omit many irrelevant considerations. Social system implies a functioning entity or whole, composed of interrelated parts or elements. These ideas are compatible not only with our wish to stress social change but also with analysis at a given instant in time. Although this book is obviously related to the authors' earlier book (*Rural Social Systems*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), it is not to be considered a revision of the earlier volume. *Rural Social Systems* will continue as an advanced work.

The authors wish to express their gratitude to those who have contributed in making the present volume possible. Among these are the teachers and associates, sociological theorists, and authors, who have most influenced our thinking. An attempt to list all of these individuals would undoubtedly be inaccurate and incomplete—our debts are greater than we can acknowledge.

In the immediate task of writing, rewriting, editing, typing, and preparing charts, we wish to express our appreciation to those who have made invaluable contributions. Mrs. Zona Kemp Loomis did much of the original work contained in Chapter 13, "Library and Mass Media Systems." In addition, we wish to acknowledge her contribution in reading and editing a large part of the entire manuscript. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams Nall, graduate assistant, Department of Sociology and

Anthropology, Michigan State University, read, criticized, and edited the entire manuscript. Mrs. Richard Kurtz, clerk-typist in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, typed the manuscript and prepared most of the illustrations.

The authors also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Mary Watzel and Mrs. Kenneth Wilson, secretaries in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, for typing and for miscellaneous chores involved in producing the manuscript. Mr. Donald Halsted and Mrs. Carl Eicher, graduate assistants in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, read parts of the manuscript, prepared data and some of the tables.

Finally, the authors are indebted to their families for their forbearance. The task of preparing a manuscript in a schedule which families already define as "overloaded" is explosive, even in this atomic age. For their stoicism, the authors are grateful.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
J. ALLAN BEEGLE

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

The Strategy of Change

1

Social Systems and Social Change

AN EFFECTIVE UNDERSTANDING OF GROUP LIFE AND of groups experiencing change would be difficult, if not impossible, without consideration of relevant social systems, the elements comprising them, and the important processes involved in change. This chapter is devoted to an attempt to isolate and explain those elements and processes believed to be essential to the understanding of rural groups.

WHAT IS A SOCIAL SYSTEM?

It is possible to conceive of social systems as existing on two different levels which, for our purposes, will not often require differentiation. In the first place, a social system may be considered a concrete interactive social structure, such as a Farm Bureau local, a family, a church congregation, or a dairy herd improvement association. The members of such organizations interact more with members than with non-members when participating in the organization as an on-going concern.

In concrete social systems, the greater the interaction between members, the easier it is to ascertain who is part and who is not part of the system; that is, to ascertain the boundaries of the system. For some systems, such as communities in family-sized farming areas, the interaction and loyalties of members are so often diffused throughout other systems that only a crisis will reveal some aspects of the community system. Even in the case of a simpler system, such as a family or a school, there is usually a central system and various sub-systems. For the typical family of the Western world there may be the conjugal core composed of father, mother, and children, and others related to the core—for example, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. For a farmers' organization, the local may be the unit of observation and may be considered a system, or the whole organization with its central organizational core may be considered a system and the various state, county, and local units sub-systems. Obviously, even when we are studying organizations as on-going concerns, we must focus upon relevant sociological aspects of social interaction.

In the second place, a social system may be viewed as a more abstract unit, or one in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation and from region to region. Social systems consisting of persistent patterns do not require that specific persons be considered as parts of the system. A Catholic Church official of a given order and position, for example, could easily fit into or adjust to Catholic sub-systems in different parts of the world. Furthermore, he could imagine himself as fitting into the same sub-system of earlier generations.

Social systems, whether studied as going concerns in the present or from a historical point of view, are composed of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions. As the significant unit of social systems, we accept Sorokin's "meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals" and his requirement that interaction be an event "by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or state of mind of the other."[1] We also accept Parson's observation that "*Participa-*

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[1] P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 40.

tion of an actor in a patterned interactive relationship . . . is for many purposes the most significant unit of the social system."[2]

What do such apparently diverse social systems as a local church, a Cooperative Extension Service, a rural school, the X family of Middletown, or the old fellows clique in rural Ireland have in common? What instructions should a stranger be given so that he can identify such systems? What instructions should be given organization experts who specialize in introducing innovations through such systems? What are the significant differences in such systems? Volumes have been written in attempts to answer these questions, and key elements of concern to those interested in understanding social change and social interaction may be outlined.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS[3]

Ends or objectives. Those changes which members of the social system expect to accomplish through the operation of the system are considered ends or objectives. In some instances systems have as ends or objectives retaining the *status quo*. The prevailing objectives of a family may be broad and diffuse—those of a bank more specific. A family may strive to provide all its members with a level of living compatible with its standards, and this may be the family's end or objective. A bank may direct its activities toward the end of increasing its earnings which may usually be measured in dollars and cents.

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[2] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 25.

[3] In all subsequent chapters, the elements of social systems will be treated. The nature and extent of treatment, however, will be variable, depending upon the treatment seeming most appropriate for a given social system. In some instances, both the elements and social processes are treated in separate sections of a given chapter; in others they will be discussed in conjunction with illustrative cases. Furthermore, in some instances, all of the elements and processes do not appear in discussion of certain social systems, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and for other reasons. In the present discussion of elements of social systems, compare Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950).

Norms. The rules or guiding standards which prescribe what is socially acceptable or unacceptable are the norms of a system. Hence norms govern the application of means in the attainment of ends or objectives. In everyday terminology, they are "rules of the game" and, as such, play a major part in establishing expectancy patterns for action in a given system. Norms as we use the term are more inclusive than written rules, regulations, or laws. They constitute the standards determining what is right and wrong or good and bad in given situations with respect to relationships with team mates and fellows as well as with non-members and opponents. In athletics involving team play, the norms not only include what is specified in the rule book, but also what is included in such concepts as "fair play" and "good sportsmanship."

Status-roles. That which is expected in a given status or position we regard as status-role. It is the active aspect of such positions as father, son, teacher, or pupil. We use the double term "status-role" in preference to "role" in order to eliminate from consideration psychological concepts of role, such as the Milquetoast role, Don Juan role, and glamour girl role, which do not require membership or participation in a specific group. The emphasis on status-role, rather than status or position, enables us to stress the active aspects of function or process rather than the static aspects of structure.

For purposes of illustration, we may take the status-roles of father and mother. In the farm families in which the authors grew up, it was expected that the father as a part of his role would do the heavy labor in the fields and that the mother as a part of her role would prepare the meals. Surprise would be expressed if these activities were regularly reversed.

Power. Power, as we use the term, is control over others. Power has many components, which we classify under two major headings: authority and influence.

Authority may be defined as the right, as determined by the system, to control the actions of others. Implied in this concept of authority is the uncritical acceptance of this right on the part of subordinates and certain immunities from influence on the part of superiors. Sanctions, as outlined later, also are implied.

Influence may be regarded as control over others which is of a non-authoritative nature. Such influence may be based upon skills in human relations, social capital based upon such things as past favors, superior knowledge of interrelations of members, certain types of wealth, or even outright blackmail. Some aspects of influence in a given social system may be derived from relationships outside of the system. Generally the status-role, the active aspects of a position held by a member, articulates his authority. Influence may be related to role performance and many other factors. For example, when salesmen visit farm families seeking to sell farm implements, the father is usually sought. It is the father who has the authority and the right of decision-making concerning such matters. This is not to say, however, that the mother and the children may not exercise considerable influence in such decisions.

Social rank. Social rank of members of systems is based upon consensus as to what is to be rated high and what low insofar as this is relevant to the system under consideration. In conformity with our meaning, the term "standing" could be used instead of rank. As we use the term, it must refer to *a* system, i.e., rank in the Methodist Church, rank in Wagon Mound community, or rank in Family X. A member's rank in a given social system may be derived from more than one status-role in the system, from status-roles outside the system (insofar as these influence his value to the system), and from power and wealth both inside and outside the system. Various personal factors not directly related to the elements just mentioned, such as personal appearance and morals, may also be important.

As we use the term, social rank results from an over-all appraisal. When applied to an individual farmer in a relevant system (let us say, a neighborhood), it may involve evaluations related to and based upon the following: (1) The non-active aspects of positions (often called status) which he has in the neighborhood. These may be the status of adult, male, father, husband, farmer, church member, and farm organization officer. From these non-active aspects of positions he derives his *prestige*. (2) Status-role performance in the neighborhood. From his performance he derives *esteem*. (3) Prestige and esteem from status-roles outside the neighborhood (insofar as these influence his evaluation in the neighborhood). (4) Power.

It will be noted that social rank in our terms is the social value placed by members on these four items relating to the specific reference group. The sociological concept of rank, as we use it, is comparable to the economic concept, price. Price is a summary term which expresses money value of an object due to utility and scarcity. In fact, the money value or price of a professional baseball player to his club is not unlike our concept of rank evaluations. Used in this manner, social rank is a summary term which is quite different from the other elements of social systems we are employing. Social systems evaluate their various sub-systems so that groups as well as individuals have social rank. Individuals derive their rank in the community from various reference groups by which they place themselves and are placed, using a society, nation, or large system as the most pertinent reference groups. Individuals of the same rank make up the strata of systems. Such strata may be in the nature of castes determined by birth or achievement. As we shall see, the family and clique to which a person belongs are very important in the status evaluation of individuals and larger systems.

Sanctions. Those potential satisfaction-giving or -depriving mechanisms at the disposal of the system, which induce compliance with ends and norms, are considered sanctions. Sanctions may be positive or negative. Positive sanctions are the *rewards* available to members from the system, including prestige resulting from authority, rights, privileges or immunity from authority, esteem, and other social or economic returns. Negative sanctions are the *penalties* or the deprivation of those items just mentioned as rewards at the disposal of the system. All familiar with farm families will be able to recall instances of both punishments and rewards applied by parents in order to make the family function as a unit.

Facilities. Facilities may be defined as the means used by the system to attain its ends. Facilities as used here is a residual category and not intended to include phenomena more correctly associated with the elements outlined previously. For a farm or ranch family, facilities involve property, such as equipment, livestock and real estate used in the farming operation; for schools, facilities include the plant, books, and equipment. Human relations skills, credit, knowledge, technology, and other resources available to a system and not included in the elements outlined may be considered as facilities.

Territoriality. The spatial arrangements and requirements of a social system are considered territoriality. It is obvious that all social systems are influenced by spatial considerations. The mere fact that a number of related families live in one house, for example, poses different problems than where each related family lives in its own house, separated by space.

Since social action and human life constitute a totality, all conceivable segments of which are inextricably interrelated, categories such as those mentioned are not mutually exclusive. The value of the concepts can only be determined by their usefulness. Since we are concerned with directed social change in addition to considering the above elements, we must be aware of the nature of social change in general.

SOCIAL CHANGE

What is conceived as social change depends upon the observation point (more correctly called the point of reference), and the scope of one's vision. This may be illustrated by the differences in conception of what is going on when a fire fighting crew deploys to get a large and fast moving forest fire under control. The view of the superintendent directing the fight from a helicopter is different from that of the individual fire fighter working on the ground near the fire. The wild life specialist may be expected to view the situation in a different way than the mineralogist or the specialist in wood utilization. The view of the sociologist or anthropologist would be different from that of other specialists. In our analysis of change, we hope we may have under consideration the more important sociological aspects of both systems and sub-systems. However, our frame of reference is limited, since we are focusing primarily upon guided change in the most common social systems.

Social change as related to social equilibrium. Essential to our conception of social change are the concepts of equilibrium and the related concepts of boundary maintenance, integration, and solidarity. Equilibrium, as employed by some biologists and used here in an analogous way, is a useful point from which to begin this discussion. Equilibrium is considered a state in which, if a force is impressed upon a system, resultant modifications are produced within the system; when the force is removed the system will tend to return to its original state. To this concept one may add the idea of a biological system undergoing normal growth, constituting a moving equilibrium. Equilibrium in a social system implies interrelatedness of the elements mentioned previously. It implies an ordering (in contrast to randomness) of interaction of the elements within the system. It also implies interaction with other systems in such a manner that the core patterns of interrelatedness tend to maintain themselves. Our conception implies, as in the case of growth in biological systems, a moving rather than a static equilibrium.

For example, the interaction of a family may remain in equilibrium as its members age, the interaction in a society may remain in equilibrium as its leaders are replaced by others, or a plantation may remain in equilibrium through the various crop seasons. However, the concept of social equilibrium implies integration. In addition to implying cooperation of members in attaining objectives, integration also implies that any attempt on the part of outside agencies to change the manner in which interrelationships are patterned will be resisted; further, that pressure will be exerted to enforce conformity to the norms of the system, since there is a vested interest in the maintenance of the system itself. Hence, we may say that internal or external forces which change the equilibrium will impose strain on the system.[4]

Although somewhat over-simplified, the following example may serve to illustrate the functioning of equilibrium. An attempt was made in Costa Rica to change the status-role of village school teachers to include tasks other than the mere teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic in the classroom. The change in the teacher's status-role, designed to improve village life, involved the added responsibility of teachers to give instruction in improved sanitation, simple health and agricultural practices through activities inside and outside the classroom. The inspectors who supervised the teachers had no standards by which to appraise the new activities and resisted this change, or using our analogy, attempted to re-establish the equilibrium. The villagers also resisted. Many villagers said that the privies, installed by some through the teachers' efforts, were not the proper concern of the teacher. In this attempt to change a status-role, the norms of the villagers were involved. Forces within the school system and related external forces exerted pressure to re-establish earlier arrangements, or previous equilibrium.

Boundary maintenance signifies activity to retain the identity, value orientation, and interaction pattern of a social system. The process of boundary maintenance requires that the system actively resist forces which tend to destroy the identity and interaction pattern. If integration is present, we say the system is functioning as a team. That is, individual effort contributes to the whole effort which moves the system toward its goal. Solidarity refers to the extent to which members are agreed as to the ends and norms of the system, and the extent to which members identify with the system as a value in and of itself.

Implication of assumptions related to equilibrium. Our conception of social systems as boundary maintaining units implies that changes may be expected to set up strains in the existing systems. Strain sets up re-equilibrating processes, but resistance must be expected, especially if the change interferes with the basic values guiding action.[5]

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[4] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1949), pp. 633 ff. and Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

In our considerations of social change, we are not focusing attention upon whole cultures, civilizations, or societies as have Sorokin,[6] Toynbee,[7] and Spengler.[8] Perhaps the most interesting aspect of change as described by these writers is the reaction or counteraction of large units to major changes. Sorokin describes the weakening of what he calls the sensate culture, in which the primary objective is that of satisfying the senses.[9] According to Sorokin, the sensate culture in the West which grew out of its counterpart, the ideational culture of the Middle Ages, must pass through a crisis before the ideational type is re-established. In describing the reaction of the East to the invasion of western culture, Toynbee writes:

> The Russians have taken up a Western secular social philosophy, Marxism; you might equally well call Marxism a Christian heresy, a leaf torn out of the book of Christianity and treated as if it were the whole gospel. The Russians have taken up this Western heretical religion, transformed it into something of their own, and are now shooting it back at us. This is the first shot in the anti-Western counter-offensive; but this Russian counter-discharge in the form of Communism may come to seem a small affair when the probably far more potent civilizations of India and China respond in their turn to our Western challenge. In the long run India and China seem likely to produce much deeper effects on our Western life than Russia can ever hope to produce with her Communism. But even the comparatively feeble native civilization of Mexico is beginning to react . . . and what is happening today in Mexico may happen to-

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[5] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

[6] P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Company, 1937), Vols. 1-4.

[7] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934-54).

[8] Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1926).

[9] P. A. Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age, The Social and Cultural Outlook* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.), 1942.

morrow in the seats of the native civilization of South America: in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia.[10]

Although we recognize the importance of the broad kinds of change just described, our attention will not be directed to social and cultural changes involving systems of such great magnitude as those considered by Sorokin, Toynbee and Spengler. We shall focus our attention on social systems such as the rural family, friendship group, school, and church—systems which were also considered by the great theorists. Changes in these smaller units are related to changes involving whole cultures and societies, but we shall not attempt to specify in detail the nature of these relationships.

Rate of change. It is possible to compare rates of change as reflected in vital statistics when such data are available. One may say, for example, that the birth rate is falling more rapidly in Japan than in Puerto Rico, or that the suicide rate is increasing more rapidly among rural than urban residents. What the causes and consequences of these rates in terms of social and cultural systems may be, however, are very difficult to determine. To compare rates of social and cultural change under the best conditions is not easy. Perhaps the most difficult comparisons to make are between systems of entirely different types. The theory of "cultural lag" maintains that one segment "lags" behind another. It is maintained that forms of material culture—houses, factories, machines, raw materials, foodstuffs—change more rapidly than non-material things—beliefs, philosophies, laws.[11] Davis argues that such comparisons are of dubious validity and that "it may seem absurd to speak of relative rates of change in such noncomparable matters—like asking if a giraffe moves faster than a cell divides—but it is sometimes done."[12] It is more meaningful to compare rates of change of similar traits or items in varied settings, than to compare the rates of change of entirely different traits or items, even in the same setting.

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[10] Arnold J. Toynbee, "Encounters Between Civilizations," *Harper's Magazine*, 194 (April, 1947), pp. 289-294.

[11] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1928), pp. 200 ff.

[12] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

Ideal types of social action—Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Types of social systems and relationships which are Gemeinschaft-like are those in which the relationship is an end in itself, as contrasted to those which are Gesellschaft-like in which the relationships are means to ends. That part of life which is rationally or instrumentally oriented is Gesellschaft-like in the sense that people and facilities are considered means to ends rather than ends in themselves. In general under given conditions, a process is rational when specified action results in a system producing the most for the least effort or cost. Thus, a factory which is Gesellschaft-like will adopt a process which turns out a more valuable product at minimal cost.

If the use of an iron corn grinder, to turn from human relationships to material things, requires less effort than the *metate* or stone corn grinder, the former will be substituted for the latter, provided only rational or instrumental considerations are involved. However, if the activities organized about the use of the *metate* are ends in and of themselves (or Gemeinschaft-like) in that they may be recreational or expressive, or if they serve moral or integrative functions (such as religious symbols), they are less likely to be discontinued merely because they are less efficient. Experience indicates that group acceptance of more efficient means is not inevitable if the activities being changed or displaced are expressive, because it is more difficult to demonstrate the efficacy or result of the proposed change. Changes which involve activities related to the basic values threaten group solidarity and may be resisted, even if their efficiency can be easily demonstrated. This is true because such change is thought to threaten the security of both individuals and groups.

Thus we say that Gesellschaft-like activity or systems are more instrumental than those which are Gemeinschaft-like. Activities and systems, the functions of which are integrative or moral are sacred, or Gemeinschaft-like. In summary, for a given system instrumental or rational action is primarily Gesellschaft-like, whereas integrative or moral action is primarily Gemeinschaft-like.

Gemeinschaft-like relationships. As indicated in *Rural Social Systems*,[13] Gemeinschaft-like relationships and systems are characterized by functional diffuseness. This means that one actor (for instance, a mother) reacts to another (for instance, her child) in such a way that *all* concerns and desires of the child are pertinent to the actor who is held responsible for them. Gemeinschaft-like relationships and systems are determined by norms which are personal or particularistic. The relationship itself, not duty or responsibility to larger reference systems, determines what is done. Relationships within systems which are considered Gemeinschaft-like are characterized as emotional or affective behavior. Relationships within systems which are described as Gemeinschaft-like are characterized as solidary, all members constituting a kind of "community of fate."

Gemeinschaft-like compared with Gesellschaft-like relationships. The Gemeinschaft-like system has been described as one in which the norms are in many ways opposed to the Gesellschaft-like system.[14] The peasant family has been characterized as being Gemeinschaft-like in nature; a military unit as being Gesellschaft-like in nature. In the peasant family, the scope of interest of an actor for his object is diffuse, while in the military unit it is specific. The norms which determine the relationships are personal and particularistic in the instance of the peasant family; they are impersonal, universalistic and not bound to specific persons or relationships in the military unit. Furthermore, relationships are conditioned by emotion or affectivity in the family, while they lack emotion and are governed by affective neutrality in the military unit. Treatment of the actor as object is based upon ascription in the first instance; upon achievement or performance in the second case. In the first there are few relationships which are private or individual. Each individual is bound to fellow members of his system by personal relations of a diffuse nature, many of which are established at birth by ascription in the peasant family.

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[13] Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1 and Appendix A.

[14] *Ibid.*

Direction of change. As underdeveloped societies adopt Western culture, the tendency is for various social systems involved in rational or instrumental activities to become Gesellschaft-like. In general, the rational or instrumental action (such as that found in bureaucracies), the traits of specificity, achievement, universalism, and affective neutrality are linked. Therefore, the blanket term *Gesellschaft* has meaning in considering the direction of social change. Also, as in the case of the family, diffuseness, ascription, particularism, and affectivity are linked, and therefore, the blanket term *Gemeinschaft* has meaning. There may be variations in the extent of linkage, as for example when the relations between father and son approach affective neutrality, but these exceptions can be described as they are encountered.[15] The specific directed changes we discuss will involve primarily rational or instrumental action. Such action is characteristic of Gesellschaft-like systems, and is action which is neither recreational nor religious. Insofar as we treat the direction of change in general, it will be on the continuum of activities which are Gemeinschaft-like at one extreme and Gesellschaft-like at the other extreme. We consider modern, Western, urban, technological society more Gesellschaft-like than that of the underdeveloped societies.

It is possible to appraise the relative emphasis a society or system places upon various types of activity at one time as compared with a later period. Assuming that the ends of a system are expressed in the amount of time used by the members in various types of activities, we may note how these change in time. One could study the time devoted by different segments of the population to recreation or other expressive pursuits which are ends in and of themselves. Redfield, for example, found that people in Tepoztlán, Mexico, spend one third of their time in fiestas and holidays.[16] The time devoted to religious activities which the social scientist would say serve the function of reinforcing the values of the group, could be measured. The time devoted to the production of goods and services as distinct from expressive or religious activities may also be measured. If one had a measure of the time spent by sample groups at different epochs in history one could rank them in primacy of orientation. Using Parsons' terminology, one could classify the sample groups in relation to action which was: (1) instrumentally, (2) expressively, and (3) morally oriented.

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[15] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[16] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán—A Mexican Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926).

Types of social change. Social change may be classified according to various principles. We are more concerned here with directed change, or that which a change agent is consciously attempting to introduce. The social changes transpiring at any moment in a rural community are usually directed in part and nondirected in part. In either case changes may result from any one or combination of the following: (1) Changing the relative importance of the different social systems in society. The school, for example, may take over functions previously performed by the church or by a craft. Factories may take over the functions performed by families. (2) Creating new social systems. An agricultural extension service, for example, may be organized in a country which formerly did not have one. (3) Changing the elements of the systems and their relation to one another as well as creating new elements. Thus, the role of the school teacher may be changed to include community responsibilities such as those mentioned in the discussion of equilibrium. An informal friendship group may become formal, as when a group of friends organize a cooperative.

A series of hypotheses concerning the importance of social factors in social change as related to these possibilities may be developed.[17] To cite only one: "Individuals of lower prestige accept culture traits from those of high prestige more readily than the reverse."[18]

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[17] Charles P. Loomis, *et al., Turrialba, Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953).

[18] Ronald Freedman, *et al., Principles of Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 319.

Types of cultural change. Cultural change is a category of change broader than social change,[19] including changes in technology, philosophy, belief systems, systems of expressive symbols or art, and systems of values. Although few societal changes do not involve both social and cultural changes, one may think of them as being separated. The introduction of the germ theory of disease to a people who had no previous knowledge of this cultural trait, would normally bring changes in the social systems dealing with sickness and disease prevention. Clinics and hospitals may be used as examples of both cultural and social change. Changes in systems of mathematics or scientific procedures are cultural changes, and may be studied *per se* in the same way that changes in armies, churches, clinics, and governments as social systems may be studied.

In discussing change, Ralph Beals writes: "If I were to rate the acculturative forces I have seen at work in various communities, I think I would suggest that one road is worth about three schools and about fifty administrators."[20] This statement, as well as our knowledge of change, suggests several hypotheses. The greater the felt need for a cultural item, for example, the easier it is to relate a proposed change to the ends of the system involved. Further, the better a cultural trait is understood, the easier it will be to introduce the change. If two cultural items are available, according to Parsons, the one which costs the least in effort and yields the greatest satisfaction will be accepted.[21] According to others, "Traits compatible to the culture of one group will probably show greater compatibility to a neighboring culture than to a distant one."[22]

The greater the functional need of a system for a trait, the easier and more rapid will be its acceptance.[23] It is the felt, not "real" need in terms of various scientific standards, that is set against the apparent or latent incompatibility that determines acceptance or non-acceptance. Five gallon oil cans, for example, have displaced pottery containers for liquids among preliterate peoples, generally because users believe them superior. Machetes, sewing machines, and corn grinders spread more generally among indigenous Latin American peoples than bed springs or water sterilization. In considering agencies and influence of change, we usually do not separate the social from the cultural. Thus, the germ theory of disease, a cultural item, is not separated from hospital organizations, medical organizations, and schools which are considered by some to be social.

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[19] Kingsley Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

[20] Sol Tax *et al.*, *Heritage of Conquest—The Ethnology of Middle America* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 232.

[21] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 499. "There is indeed an ultimate strain to consistency in the total system of cognitive orientation in a society, and developments in science will have their long-run repercussions on philosophy, ideologies and religious beliefs as well as vice versa."

[22] Freedman, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

IMPORTANT PROCESSES INVOLVED IN SOCIAL CHANGE

As the elements of social systems previously discussed are articulated in social action, the processes of communication, decision-making,[24] boundary maintenance, and social-cultural linkage are of special importance.

It is convenient in discussing change to differentiate what is called the "target system" from the "change agent system." The latter is the person or system attempting to introduce or effect a change; the former is the group which the agent and his system is attempting to change. If, for example, the agricultural extension service in a given community is attempting to organize the cotton growers into a one-variety cotton community, the extension service is the change agent system and the community involved, the target system.

Communication. By communication we mean the process by which information, decisions, and directives pass through a social system, and the ways in which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed or modified. Communication may be carried out through mass media, such as radio, television, and motion pictures, in which the agency receiving the communication cannot interact directly with the agency imparting the information. Mass media provide one-way communication from imparter to receiver. Communication may be carried on through formal and informal social channels which usually provide the opportunity for two-way interaction in which individuals are both imparters and receivers of information. A vivid illustration of how the communication process operates in rural areas is the telephone company or community signal and message. The coming of a blizzard, a flood, or other events may be communicated by telephone, radio, or television to large groups. Usually not all people are listening to such communications but they are further spread by word of mouth.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

[24] Cf. Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953).

Decision-making. This is the process whereby alternate courses of action available are reduced. If a rural family in a flood area is notified that flood conditions approach, decisions must be made concerning evacuation. In many farm and ranch families much decision-making occurs at mealtime. In patriarchal families much family decision-making rests with the father, who has greater power than other members.

The strategy of change involves decision-making on the part of the change agent in terms of the allocation of effort, facilities, and personnel, in relation to those status-roles, patterns of power, and social rank of the target system. Decisions concerning such allocations must be made with a view to maximizing the possibility of cooperation on the part of the target system and minimizing "costs" to the change system. The decision-making of the change agent must result in effective timing of events which requires intimate knowledge of the functioning of the change target in terms of social structure, value orientation, and the important processes related to change.

Boundary maintenance. This is the process whereby the system retains its identity and interaction pattern; that is, retains its equilibrium involving both integration and solidarity. Boundary maintenance may be illustrated by the various folk admonitions concerning an outsider taking the part of one member in a family quarrel. These proverbs usually imply that the quarreling family members will unite and turn on the outsider no matter how just his cause for supporting one side of the dispute. Folk beliefs and scientific findings show that systems which are challenged from outside defend their values.

Social-cultural linkage. This is the process whereby the elements of at least two systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unit. Thus, social-cultural linkage usually requires that the value orientation and the social structure of the change agent system and the target system are brought together in at least temporary closure. In order to be effective, a teacher must have his role accepted by students, and the teacher in turn, must accept the students in their roles as students. When a family borrows money from a bank, social-cultural linkage is accomplished between the two systems and the roles of debtor and creditor express this linkage.

Social-cultural linkage involves the following three processes: initiation, legitimation, and execution. Initiation is the process whereby the change system brings the proposed or advocated change to the attention of the target system. Legitimation is the process whereby the proposed change is made "rightful" to the target system. Prestigeful sponsors, rituals, prayers, and other legitimizing procedures are used in the strategy of change. Execution is the process whereby the social-cultural linkage is put into effect.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM AND SOCIAL CHANGE: ELEMENTS AND PROCESSES

A football team. The concepts we have discussed as elements of systems may be effectively illustrated by a football team. Change and social-cultural linkage may be illustrated by the description of the attempts of coaches and schools to accept a new trait, such as the split-T formation. Directed change may be illustrated by the processes whereby the coaching staff as a system brings the team into its participation orbit.

In a football team, as with other athletic teams, each separate position clearly represents a different status-role, as we have defined the term. Fullbacks perform different functions than guards because their status-roles are different. Authority may be illustrated by the general control coaches exercise over the players, particularly the quarterbacks to whom coaches delegate considerable authority during games. Non-authoritative power, or influence, may be illustrated by human relations and leadership skills on the part of exceptional coaches and players. Sanctions, in the form of rewards, may be illustrated by letters, plaques, and citations received by the team or individual players. Rewards may also take the form of prestige and esteem, and bids to play professional football. Negative sanctions for violating norms may result in team penalties or individual penalties. Social rank may be illustrated when the team members select the "most valuable" player. Immediate ends such as those of winning games are rather obvious in the case of athletic teams. Norms or the rules of the game as prescribed in the rule book are also obvious, but other norms such as those falling under the heading of sportsmanship are less obvious. Norms concerning rewards a player may or may not receive and how players may or may not be recruited, are also important. Territoriality, or spatial relationships, may be illustrated by the requirements of the various positions in relation to one another and the boundaries of the field. Facilities, including field house, practice fields and equipment, are also obvious.

The social processes whereby athletic teams develop superiority and high morale are not well understood by sociologists, but the same processes involved in effective operation of other social systems may well be applicable. Communication involving the means whereby teams are prepared for high level performance are not well understood by social scientists, and should constitute a profitable area of study for those who wish to understand human organization. No doubt high morale or the willingness to sacrifice for a social system, as well as the confidence in its capacity to achieve its goals, are related to the decision-making process on and off the field. The degree to which members believe allocation of rewards, roles, authority, and status square with existing norms is probably very important. The process of boundary maintenance would be revealed, for example, if a high school coach at midseason attempted to turn his football team into a basketball team. The status-roles in football would not be given up without resistance any more than a successful team would permit a member to be misused.

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2

Locality Systems

DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF EFFICIENT MEANS OF transportation, most rural and urban persons are rooted in localities which they consider to be home. Although American farmers move about much more than their parents, the most meaningful ties and social interactions generally transpire within the confines of the local community.

THE COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

The community may be defined as a social system encompassing a territorial unit within which members carry on most of their day-to-day activities necessary in meeting common needs. Since the beginning of human existence, there have been families or kinship systems. The only other universal grouping or system is the locality group, frequently called the community. Historically, the community has been and still is the "local group, an aggregation of families and unattached males who habitually live together."[1]

Many of those who decry the state of the modern community have in mind a closed system, like the athletic team described in Chapter 1, as the ideal. Some would make each member of the community responsible to a common authority.[2] Relatively complete power in all spheres, for example, might be delegated to the governmental sub-system. Likewise, the educational system, within which the major needs of faculty and students are met, might possess a monopoly of power. Large convents or monasteries may be thought of as communities in which the religious sub-systems of the larger society has a monopoly of power. Factory or mill towns and some large agricultural estates may constitute communities in which power is monopolized by economic or production sub-systems. Most American rural communities, unlike the examples cited, may seem disorganized, since power is most frequently diffused among several systems. This and other features of the rural community will become apparent in the discussion of its elements.

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[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 209; Murdock in his study of more than 150 societies throughout the world found none without locality groupings which he called communities. George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

THE ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Ends, objectives, and norms. The ends of the community differ in various ways from the ends of the sub-systems which compose the community. Likewise, the norms of communities tend to resemble those of society more than is true of other sub-systems. An agricultural or commercial enterprise may have as its primary goal that of making the greatest profit; a school may have as its end improving the skills and knowledge of the pupils. The ends of all these separate sub-systems are included and transcended in the ends of the community. This convergence of ends and norms furnishes the basis of community solidarity.

If all the systems and members of a community believe in the worthwhileness of the community goals and stand ready to sacrifice for them, a "fund of goodwill"[3] is said to reside in the community. This fund of goodwill is an expression and measure of the meaningfulness of the whole for its parts. Its measure is the extent to which sub-systems and members sacrifice for the whole. Consciously or unconsciously most sub-systems in the community try to tap this fund. Those change systems which can relate their programs to the fund of goodwill in such a manner that the elements of the structure may be utilized should have little difficulty legitimizing and executing their programs. When members of various community organizations involved in an action related to the attainment of community ends or goals are questioned concerning their motives for assisting, the following answers are common: "I thought it was for the good of the community." "My organization believes it is for the good of our community." "I didn't want to do it, in fact, I doubted that it was necessary but I knew the community felt we should do it, so I did it."

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[2] See R. M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), p. 407.

[3] See Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, *Patterns of Community Involvement* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

The extent and nature of the fund of goodwill existing in communities vary greatly. It is probable that the fund of goodwill is less in communities having ethnic or occupational cleavages than in communities where such cleavages do not exist.

It is very difficult for the community to differentiate ends (the desired future states that the system is undertaking to bring about) from norms (the rules and principles whereby the means and facilities may be applied to attain these ends). Community ends and norms tend to fuse. Whereas much of the action of sub-systems, such as business enterprises, may be rational or instrumental, much community action is often expressive, integrative, or both. In instrumental action it is easier to differentiate ends and norms than in other forms of action. The fiesta tends to be more expressive; the ritual of Memorial Day or certain court proceedings tend to be integrative or moral.

Changes in value orientation (the ends and norms of systems) are of extreme importance. The emerging rural community in America looks to the city, as though there were one-way windows between the farm and the trade center and between the trade center and the metropolis. The city, not the neighborhood

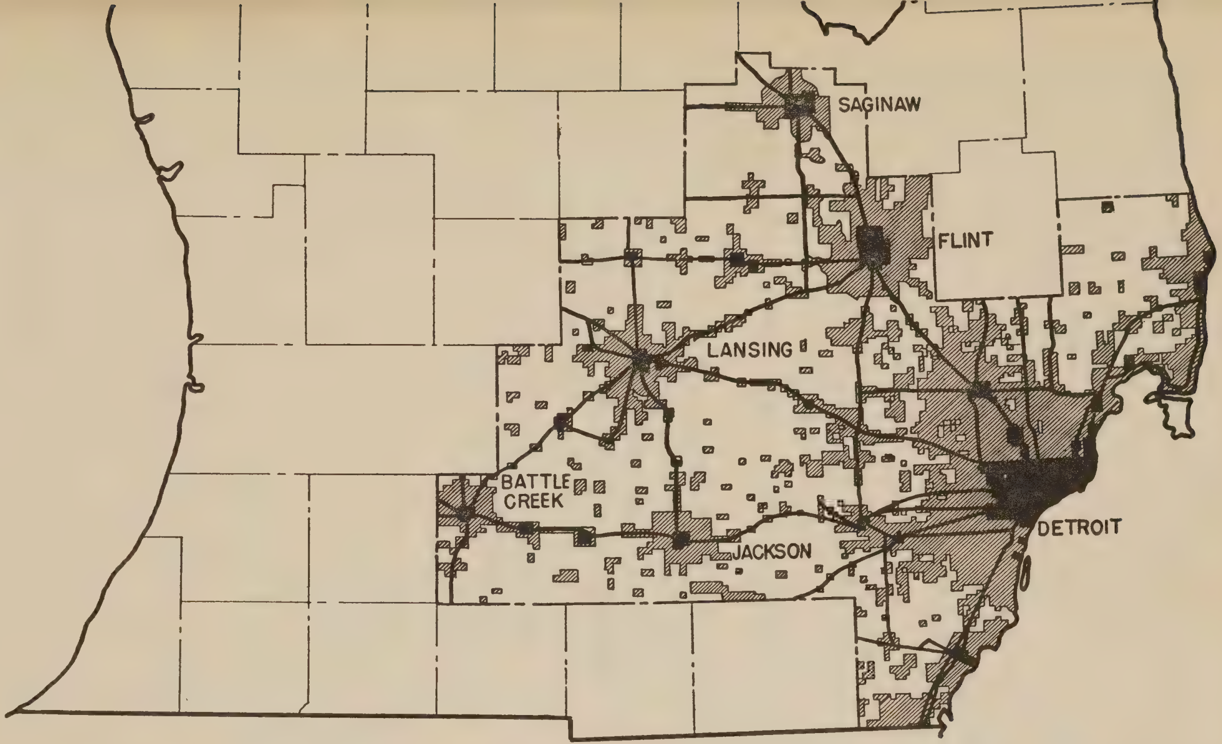
SAGINAW
FLINT
LANSING
BATTLE CREEK
JACKSON
DETROIT

Figure 1. "Fringe" Development in Relation to Major Highways in Southeastern Michigan. The black areas show the urban areas and the shaded portions are "semi-urban" with at least 42 persons per square mile. While much of the land in this area is of good quality, a large part is no longer in agricultural uses. (Data supplied by George D. Hurrell, formerly of the Conservation Institute, Michigan State University.)

or village, will "call the signals" for the future. The metropolitan areas are swallowing up the old farm villages in the wake of a countrywide expansion. One instance of this invasion of the countryside is depicted in Figure 1. The importance and reality of this invasion carried by the highway and motor car is evidenced by the following: "Prior to it, [the advent of the highway] in the waterway era and in the railroad era, the city was in very large degree autonomous of its own rural hinterland. One who journeyed from the center of a metropolis outward would always encounter an abrupt, precipitous transition to unspoiled countryside. Socially and culturally, the transition was just as abrupt. The city was truly a state of mind; the country was another and very different state of mind. Between them there was an abyss."[4]

Status-roles. In rural communities the division of labor and definition of functions of members are usually not as specific as in various sub-systems, such as the school and church. There is no universal status-role comparable to the father in the family, the teacher in the school, the deacon in the church. Some organization specialists have attempted to give the rural community an integrated status-role system through the establishment of community councils, but the death rate of such mechanisms is very high.

Generally in the United States (outside of New England), if the rural community surrounds an incorporated trade center, an organized social system with specific status-roles (mayor, treasurer, and so on) exists for the center but seldom for the rural hinterland which often has more members than the center itself. Often two antagonistic systems, one urban and another rural, develop to express different interests in taxation, zoning, and school services.[5] There are a great variety of ways in which rural communities are related to the political structure. Smith advocates the Brazilian system in which the surrounding countryside is included in the corporate area.[6] At the same time, Wagley describes the great amount of rural-urban conflict in the same nation.[7] Regardless of the relationship between the rural and town systems, in few areas of the world do no frictions and cleavages exist between the town and the country people.

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[4] Walter Firey, J. Allan Beegle, and Charles P. Loomis, "The Highway in Rural Areas," *The Highway in Our National Life*, edited by the Bureau of Urban Research (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 61.

[5] Solon Kimball, *A Case Study in Township Zoning*, Michigan AES Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 28 (1946), pp. 253-269.

Those status-roles which articulate the affairs of the community system, except where the New England town form of government prevails, may be characterized as carrying responsibilities that are personal and informal. The different status-roles in communities often reveal a "lady bountiful" who assists in case of need, a "watchdog" who keeps school enthusiasts and others from increasing taxes, "*patrones*" in the Southwest who "look after their people," and "*casiques*" or informal rural "ward bosses" in Latin America and many other areas. Such status-roles are essentially different from that of city manager, whose duties are more specific and whose relationships may be more professional and less personal.

There are certainly logical as well as emotional reasons for concern about the declining importance of systems such as the neighborhood and community. As MacIver asserts, those who "yearn for a value which is not in the fleeting lives of men—a value that is not embodied merely in the successive members of successive generations . . ."[8] are yearning for what we call the community in its *Gemeinschaft* forms. If we assume with Mead that we are socialized as we learn to play the status-roles of others and "call out in ourselves the response of the community,"[9] the opportunity to learn the structure of society must suffer seriously when there is no semblance of the neighborhood and community.

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[6] T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), p. 147.

[7] Charles Wagley, *Amazon Town—A Study of Man in the Tropics* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1953), p. 267.

[8] MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

[9] George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, edited by Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 178-179.

All of the human interaction which goes into the process of personality formation is articulated in the community. The adult as well as the child has most of his important needs met in the community. The individual passes from boyhood to manhood, is married, and dies in the community, and the community provides the means that make it possible for life to continue after he is no longer a part of the community. It provides necessary rites which ease and legitimize critical periods in the life cycle; it provides a setting in which status-roles may be internalized.

Power. Most people in the free world do not carry on their day to day activities in communities under the domination of one of the sub-systems of society. Rather, they live in what we may call power-diffused communities, in the sense that no single social system monopolizes power. In most communities, however, only a few people hold most of the offices and control the formal organizations. Richardson and Bauder[10] report that in a trade center community of 2,006 population, 4 per cent of the population hold one-fourth of all memberships in non-church voluntary organizations, over half of the offices in non-church groups, and more than one-third of the church offices.

As indicated previously, when one sub-system of a community is dominant, as in the case of the Latin American *hacienda,* that sub-system supplies the role structure and articulates the power for the whole community. Also, the more specific and definite will be the power relationships, and the more universal their application in the sense that individual relationships are not as important as general principles. For communities in which no single sub-system has a monopoly of power, power tends to be gained by achievement rather than by birth or ascription. We may hypothesize that the more rural the society, the more power, including authority and influence, will be dependent upon inherited position and wealth; contrariwise, the more urban and westernized the society, the more important achievement will be in the attainment of power.

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[10] Paul D. Richardson and Ward W. Bauder, *Participation in Organized Activities in a Kentucky Rural Community* (Lexington: Kentucky AES Bulletin 598, 1953), p. 27.

Social rank. Social ranking in rural communities is dependent upon several factors, all rooted in the values of the community under consideration and the society at large. The most important characteristics in the social rank of individual members are the status-roles he occupies, the power he possesses, and the esteem which comes from these and other sources. In a study of how communities acquired hospitals, persons of influence were referred to as follows: "He isn't rich and he has no high offices but the people look to him for leadership because he is the symbol of what is good in this community."[11] This person symbolized the norms and ends of the system.

Definite class systems in rural America are more easily distinguished in the Cotton Belt, with the plantation and racial groups, than elsewhere. The class differences of laborers and non-laborers, however, are obvious in the so-called factory farms of the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. As Western urban technology spreads, social rank comes more and more to be dependent upon achievement. The larger the social systems which compose the communities remaining after mechanization and urbanization, and the more differentiated the status-roles composing these systems, the more distinction there will be between people and the more tendency there will be for systems based upon social rank to emerge. The essential difference which westernization with its increased mechanization, commercialization, and bureaucratization brings is a kind of stratification based upon achievement rather than upon ascription.

Sanctions. In general the more solidary the community system in terms of the acceptance of the ends and norms, the more effective the sanction system will be in enforcing the basic values upon which this solidarity and the accompanying fund of goodwill rests. As Durkheim observed, punishment among other measures is the community's means of reinforcing its own belief in its values.[12]

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[11] Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953).

The allocation of rewards in terms of social rank or other satisfactions provides a basis for the recruitment of personnel in the community systems. Contrariwise, the various mechanisms whereby members and groups are penalized for deviance from norms comprise the punishment system. Thus, in a well integrated, solidary community, the reward-punishment system applies to all members a two-way dispenser of pleasure and pain. It also provides the dynamics whereby citizens who go in the "right" direction and in the "right" manner derive the most satisfactions. Penalties may take the form of extreme punishment, such as lynching and physical and mental torture. Rewards may come in the form of great wealth, power, privilege, and access to satisfactions of all kinds.

Territoriality. Obviously territoriality is of prime importance in the comparison of locality groupings both in time and space. Although modern means of communication have lessened the importance of space and geographical factors, they are still important. It still requires less effort and expense to visit over the back fence with a neighbor than with an intimate friend 100 miles away. Intimacy almost always develops in face to face relationships and it is retained over long periods and distances only by the expenditure of considerable time and effort.

Intimacy and territoriality. On almost all dimensions, communities vary greatly from society to society, region to region, and epoch to epoch. The various physical forms of the rural community have been treated in some detail in *Rural Social Systems.*[13]

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[12] See an exposition of this in Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), pp. 309, 318-319, 402, 403.

[13] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), Chapter 7.

Among the most important variations among communities is the extent to which interaction is intimate. At one end of the continuum, one may find examples of the "community . . . as . . . a group of neighbors who know one another face to face."[14] Most contacts, in terms of intimacy and intensity of interaction, resemble those of the highly integrated and self-sufficient family. There are neighborhood communities such as El Cerrito, New Mexico, composed of several dozen families which, in many respects, behave like an extended family.[15] At the other end of the continuum, one may find areas in which neighbors are strangers who rarely interact. Although some think of the large city as exemplifying this condition, it can occur in both urban and rural areas.

Between these extremes are to be found most of the rural communities of the United States and other countries of the urbanized Western world. Probably the most important change in the rural life of the Western world, and one which affects vitally the interaction of community members, is the decreasing importance of the smaller neighborhood centered community. In its place we find the larger trade centered community. This change, wrought by the advent of improved highways and the use of motor vehicles, has made the automobile rather than the "team haul" the determining factor in interaction and community size. There are also areas in which neighborhoods have relatively little significance and families travel many miles in order to associate with close friends. Many social philosophers and students of society believe that the modern community in Western society is its weakest link. "Instead of belonging to a community with its close spontaneous personal ties," according to MacIver, "modern man belongs to a heterogeneous array of de-personalized associations."[16]

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[14] Baker Brownell, *The Human Community—Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 198. Brownell maintains that the community is also "a rather small group, such as the family, village, or small town, in which each person can know a number of others as whole persons, not as functional fragments."

[15] Olen Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico,* reprinted in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), Chapter 16.

A neighborhood is an area in which people "neighbor" with one another; that is, the area in which people visit, borrow, exchange tools and equipment, and cooperate in various ways. Typically, neighborhoods include from half a dozen to several dozen families. After the family, it is the smallest locality group. The great sociologist, Cooley,[17] looked upon the neighborhood, the family, and the play groups as being primary. These groups he considered to be extremely important in the development of personality.

The trade centered community, which appears to be replacing the neighborhood community in rural areas of Western society, is a locality grouping including a hamlet, village, town, or city as center, and the surrounding farm and non-farm populations which interact in business as well as non-business pursuits. In typical rural areas, the families which patronize the center outnumber the families in the center. Although it is the trade center of 2,500 and over that is becoming increasingly important in American rural life, various rural sociologists have found that small service units, especially for bulky goods and general services, continue to persist.[18] While some farmers or ranchers may travel 100 miles to their service centers, most rural families do not travel more than seven or eight miles for their main services. The trade centered community, including hundreds of people who may be unacquainted or interact for business purposes, tends to become Gesellschaft-like.

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[16] MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-433. For an excellent critique of the concept "neighborhood" as used in eight rural sociology texts, see Walter L. Slocum and Herman M. Case, "Are Neighborhoods Meaningful Social Groups Throughout Rural America?" *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March, 1953), pp. 52-59. See also Bruce L. Melvin, "The Rural Neighborhood Concept," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December, 1954), pp. 371-376.

[17] Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), Chapter 3.

[18] See T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 342-343; Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1942), p. 243; Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938); and J. F. Thaden, *The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 302, 1940), pp. 44-45. See also John H. Kolb and Douglas G. Marshall, *Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society* (Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 154, 1944). Kolb and Marshall find a 20 per cent decline in the number of neighborhoods between 1931 and 1941 for Dane county and the Middle Western states. They also found a social configuration which tended to make for the persistence of neighborhoods.

A comparison of two areas well known to the authors may serve to illustrate the processes and consequences of changes in locality group structure. One area is the trade center community of Turrialba, Costa Rica, with a population of approximately 19,000. It is typical of many trade center communities in the underdeveloped areas of the world, particularly in Latin America. The other area is Livingston County, Michigan, with a population of 26,700 in 1950. In the Turrialba trade center area, thirty-four per cent live in Turrialba (the trade center) as compared with sixteen per cent in Howell (the trade center of the Livingston County area). Most of the interaction of the people in Turrialba is confined to the thirty-two villages outlined in Figure 2. Although most people live only one and one-half hours by foot from Turrialba, the trade center, only a relatively small portion of the interaction takes place here.

In Livingston County, as indicated by Figure 3, nearly half of the rural people, and one half of the area in which rural families live, are neighborhoodless. Hence, the trade center and distant friends absorb much of the interaction of the people living here. Typically, the people in Livingston County who do not reside in neighborhoods live near the trade center or along the heavily traveled highway running from Lansing to Detroit. In Livingston County, interaction of the rural people is conditioned by the automobile and is focused in the trade center. In Turrialba, interaction is conditioned by transportation by ox cart or by foot and is centered in the outlying villages.

Territoriality in Gemeinschaft- and Gesellschaft-like societies. The changes in social structure and value orientation which technology brought to the urbanized cultures of the world is reflected in the contrasting neighborhood communities of Livingston County, Michigan (Figure 3) and of Turrialba, Costa

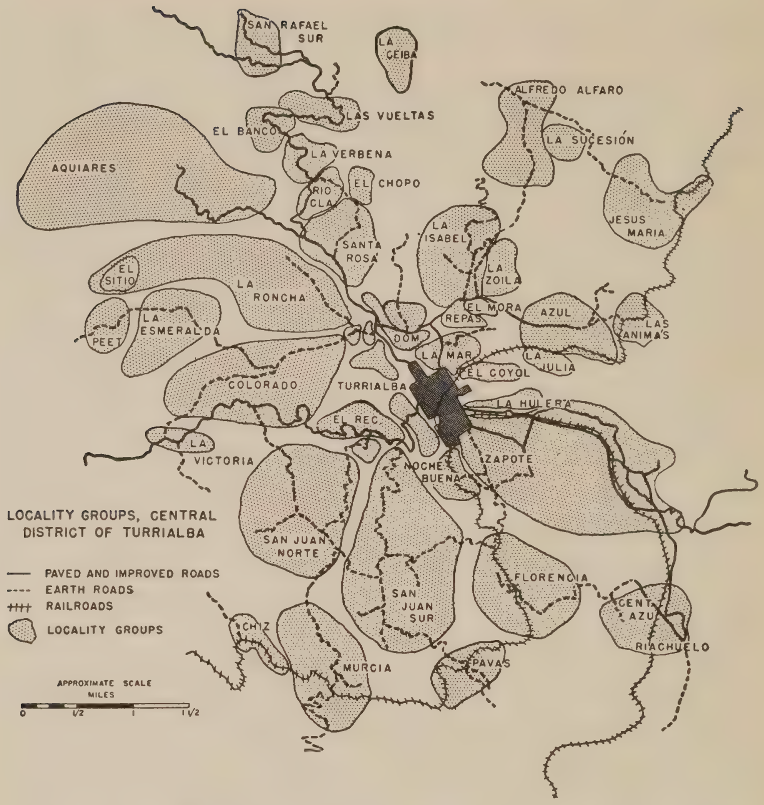
SAN RAFAEL SUR
LA CEIBA
ALFREDO ALFARO
LAS VUELTAS
EL BANCO
LA SUCESIÓN
LA VERBENA
AQUIARES
RIO CLA
EL CHOPO
JESUS MARIA
LA ISABEL
SANTA ROSA
EL SITIO
LA ZOILA
LA RONCHA
EL MORA
AZUL
LA ESMERALDA
REPAS
LAS ANIMAS
PEET
DOM
LA MAR
LA JULIA
EL COYOL
COLORADO
TURRIALBA
LA HULERA
EL REC.
LA VICTORIA
NOCHE BUENA
ZAPOTE
LOCALITY GROUPS, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF TURRIALBA
SAN JUAN NORTE
PAVED AND IMPROVED ROADS
EARTH ROADS
RAILROADS
LOCALITY GROUPS
FLORENCIA
SAN JUAN SUR
CENT. AZUL
CHIZ
RIACHUELO
MURCIA
PAVAS
APPROXIMATE SCALE MILES
0
1/2
1
1 1/2

Figure 2. Locality Groupings in the Turrialba Area of Costa Rica. Close inspection will reveal 32 locality groups, many of which are very small. Delineation was done through interviews and observation. (Source: C. P. Loomis *et al., Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change.* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, p. 108.)

Rica (Figure 2). A generation ago, the neighborhoods of Livingston County resembled those of Turrialba, and the process which resulted in the present situation is going on everywhere. As the status-roles which members occupy are differentiated, and as free mobility occurs, more social and economic activities leave the neighborhood for larger centers. In this process the latter grow at the expense of the smaller centers. Whereas

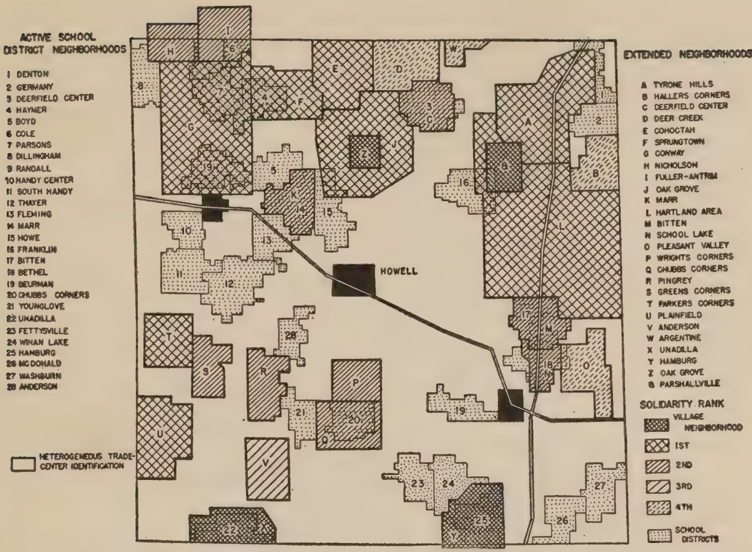
ACTIVE SCHOOL DISTRICT NEIGHBORHOODS
1 DENTON
2 GERMANY
3 DEERFIELD CENTER
4 HAYNER
5 BOYD
6 COLE
7 PARSONS
8 DILLINGHAM
9 RANDALL
10 HANDY CENTER
11 SOUTH HANDY
12 THAYER
13 FLEMING
14 MARR
15 HOWE
16 FRANKLIN
17 BITTEN
18 BETHEL
19 BEURMAN
20 CHUBBS CORNERS
21 YOUNGLOVE
22 UNADILLA
23 FETTYSVILLE
24 WINAN LAKE
25 HAMBURG
26 MC DONALD
27 WASHBURN
28 ANDERSON
HETEROGENEOUS TRADE-CENTER IDENTIFICATION
HOWELL
EXTENDED NEIGHBORHOODS
A TYRONE HILLS
B HALLERS CORNERS
C DEERFIELD CENTER
D DEER CREEK
E COHOCTAH
F SPRUNGTOWN
G CONWAY
H NICHOLSON
I FULLER-ANTRIM
J OAK GROVE
K MARR
L HARTLAND AREA
M BITTEN
N SCHOOL LAKE
O PLEASANT VALLEY
P WRIGHTS CORNERS
Q CHUBBS CORNERS
R PINGREY
S GREENS CORNERS
T PARKERS CORNERS
U PLAINFIELD
V ANDERSON
W ARGENTINE
X UNADILLA
Y HAMBURG
Z OAK GROVE
& PARSHALLVILLE
SOLIDARITY RANK
VILLAGE NEIGHBORHOOD
1ST
2ND
3RD
4TH
SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Figure 3. Locality Groups in Livingston County, Michigan. Twenty-seven "extended neighborhoods" as well as school districts are shown. (Source: Paul A. Miller and J. A. Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan.* East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, 1947, p. 32.)

people in the neighborhoods of the Turrialba trade center area know intimately and interact with most members, residents in a large segment of Livingston County identify with no neighborhood and carry on their intimate interaction among friends and relatives over a wide area. In many instances, the neighbors in the spatial sense are strangers, often rural residents who work in the towns and cities. Neighborhoods which once were "communities of fate" in that all share good and bad fortune, no longer are bound by the same ties. In rural America, the neighborhoods and other locality groups are increasingly assuming the aspects of the *Gesellschaft.* Responsibilities among interacting neighbors in areas such as Livingston County are increasingly specific, rather than diffuse, as is the case among neighbors in Turrialba. Relationships in Turrialba are to a larger extent ends in and of themselves. It is fair to say that probably no social system has undergone more change than the community in areas in which technological diffusion has been extensive. Each of the sub-systems such as the church and school has changed, and these changes have apparently accumulated geometrically in the total system, the community.

General spatial patterns. Flying over an area, one can see the spatial arrangement of individual homes, the division of the land, the system of roads, and the relation of communities to each other. Over much of France, for example, one observes the long strips of land with the farm dwellings along a road or stream. The dwellings are so close that they constitute line villages resembling the string settlements along highways in the United States. Although found in areas originally settled by French colonists, such as portions of Canada and Louisiana, the line village is not confined to such areas. Smith[19] reports that it is common in Brazil.

The Spanish and Portuguese village, as established in the Americas, consists of a core unit, the *plaza,* and is laid out in square blocks with straight streets, differing from the villages of Germanic and English origin. The New England village was highly influenced by the Germanic form. (See Figure 4). Villages in New England were nucleated in that the buildings were grouped about a core, with crooked streets and outlying fields and pasture land.

With the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1785, land was divided into townships of 36 sections of 640 acres each, and gradually the rectangular form of land division was generally adopted over the United States. This type of land division resulted in the land being laid out in sections one mile square, and is often referred to as the "checkerboard" pattern. This system spread over most of the area west of the Ohio-Pennsylvania line, with few exceptions.[20] Since roads in these areas were laid out on the township or section boundaries, they were straight and ran east and west and north and south. This explains why neigh-

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[19] Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions, op. cit.,* Chapter 13.

[20] Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life, op. cit.,* pp. 262-263.

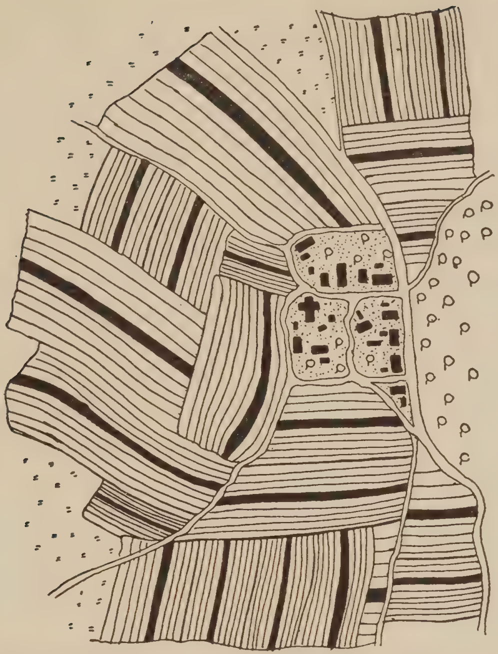

Figure 4. The German Gewanndorf in which the residents form a compact village group. Due to the variable quality of land, each resident is assigned segmented strips of land such as those shown in black. This form was found in areas of southern Sweden, Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, between the Elbe and Weser rivers, and southern Germany. (Source: Max Sering, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik.* Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1934, pp. 35-38.)

borhood and community boundaries in these areas, as in Figure 3, tend to be rectangular. In the underdeveloped areas of the world, the community boundary forms shown in Figure 2 are more typical than the Michigan pattern shown in Figure 3.

Regional spatial patterns related to elements of systems. Geographic and cultural factors have influenced greatly the spatial relations involved in community life throughout the country. Some of the regional variations important for those interested in directed social change in the United States will be outlined.

The Cotton Belt and General and Self-Sufficing Areas. If we accept the definition of the neighborhood as a spatial area in which people interact spontaneously and share in mutual aid, we may say that white and Negro neighborhoods are usually separated in the South. White and Negro neighborhoods exist in the same areas, but rarely do they have congruent boundaries.

In the Cotton Belt and in the rural South generally, neighborhoods are more solidary, in terms of the frequency and duration of interaction among members, than in other regions. Exceptions may be the Mormon villages, and the locality groups comprising certain ethnic groups. The boundaries of both neighborhoods and trade center communities in most of the Cotton Belt are irregular. The spatial arrangements of rural communities in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas (Appalachian, Ozark, and surrounding areas) resemble those of the Cotton Belt, except that there are few Negroes in these areas.

The Corn Belt. Most of the Corn Belt, settled in neighborhood clusters from New England and the Middle Atlantic states, was laid out in rectangular sections. Neighborhood and trade center community boundaries are much more regular than in the Cotton Belt. Political units throughout this area generally assume the rectangular form. Throughout the Corn Belt, neighborhood activities of former years have generally been transferred to a wider geographical base. The unit of significance today, therefore, is the relatively large trade center community, the functional community to which residents feel some attachment. Elevators and stockyards are to be found in the typical Corn Belt trade center, to which farmers bring their produce and purchase their supplies.

Range-Livestock and Wheat Areas. Range-Livestock communities differ from those in the Corn Belt in that neighborhoods are weaker and less important. The trade center community, with stockyards and fairgrounds, is the important center of social and economic activities.

Life in the Wheat Areas is even less dependent upon the neighborhood than in other areas. The trade center community with its ever present grain elevator is the primary locality group. In some sections of the Wheat Areas, many operators only live on their land during planting and harvesting. While the "suitcase" farmer may be found in these areas, it should not be assumed that there are no locality group loyalties, for interest may be very great in school athletics and other activities centering in the towns.

Dairy Areas. The dairy communities in the Northeast are influenced by the original pattern of the New England town. Although the local village still retains some strength, the same forces bringing about the larger trade center community are at work here. The social and economic functions of many smaller villages and hamlets are waning and those of the trade centers increasing. In the western part of the Dairy Area, the rectangular system of land division prevails.

Western Specialty-Crop Areas. Except for the village settlement areas of Utah and Idaho, the community in this type of farming area follows much the same pattern as in the Corn Belt.[21] Here, too, there is an increasing emphasis being placed upon the trade center. In the village areas, however, the neighborhoods have withstood more firmly the centripetal forces mentioned above.

Locality systems for "field" and "center" activities. Human activities, from an ecological point of view, may be classified as "field" and "center" pursuits. The former are organized in communities involving the production of food, fiber, minerals, and raw materials. Such pursuits ordinarily require high land-man ratios, and populations are usually dispersed over the large areas. In general, field-centered activities may be considered "rural." The "center" activities, on the other hand, are concerned with processing and distributing, and require low land-man ratios. In general, such activities are supported by populations in densely settled aggregates and may be regarded as "urban." Although data are not collected to conform precisely with this description, we may say that in 1950, 64.0 per cent (new urban definition) of the population was concerned with "center" activities; the remainder, 36.0 per cent (rural territory) was concerned with "field" pursuits.

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[21] Locality group structure in Mexico is in sharp contrast to that of the United States. In Mexico only a small percentage of the total population lives on isolated farmsteads. Of all the 2,325 municipalities in 1940, 73 per cent did not have a center of more than 2,500. By 1950, due to rapid centralization of population, the population of Mexico was 57 per cent rural. See Nathan Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 530, and Floyd Dotson and Lillian Ota Dotson, "Urban Centralization and Decentralization in Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 1956), pp. 41-49.

Although field and center activities are clearly interrelated, we are concerned primarily with field pursuits. One index of the prevalence of field pursuits, shown in Figure 5, is the percentage of land area in farms. This figure reveals extremely large proportions of the total land area to be in farms in the Corn Belt, and in the plains states, from the Canadian to Mexican border areas. In general, the proportion of land area in farms around major cities is not large. The large farm population of the Southern states, however, is not reflected in this figure.

The relation of the locality groupings, within which field activities are carried on, to the locality groupings of the center, often gives the whole society a special character. In industrialized countries, such as the United States, metropolitan areas usually consist of one or two very large centers with many overlapping locality systems of all sizes. In non-industrialized countries, the change from city to country is often more abrupt. In Latin American countries, for example, a relatively large proportion of the people live in the largest city. In industrialized countries, such as the United States, the proportion living in the largest city is much smaller.[22]

Demographic definition of territorial systems. One of the basic classifications used by the Bureau of the Census is that according to residence. Despite numerous complications and difficulties, the residence classification of "urban" and "rural,"

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[22] Kingsley Davis and Ana Casis, "Urbanization in Latin America," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* Vol. XXIV, Nos. 2 and 3 (April, 1946). See also Theodore Caplow, "The Modern Latin American City," in *Acculturation in the Americas,* edited by Sol Tax as *Proceedings and Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

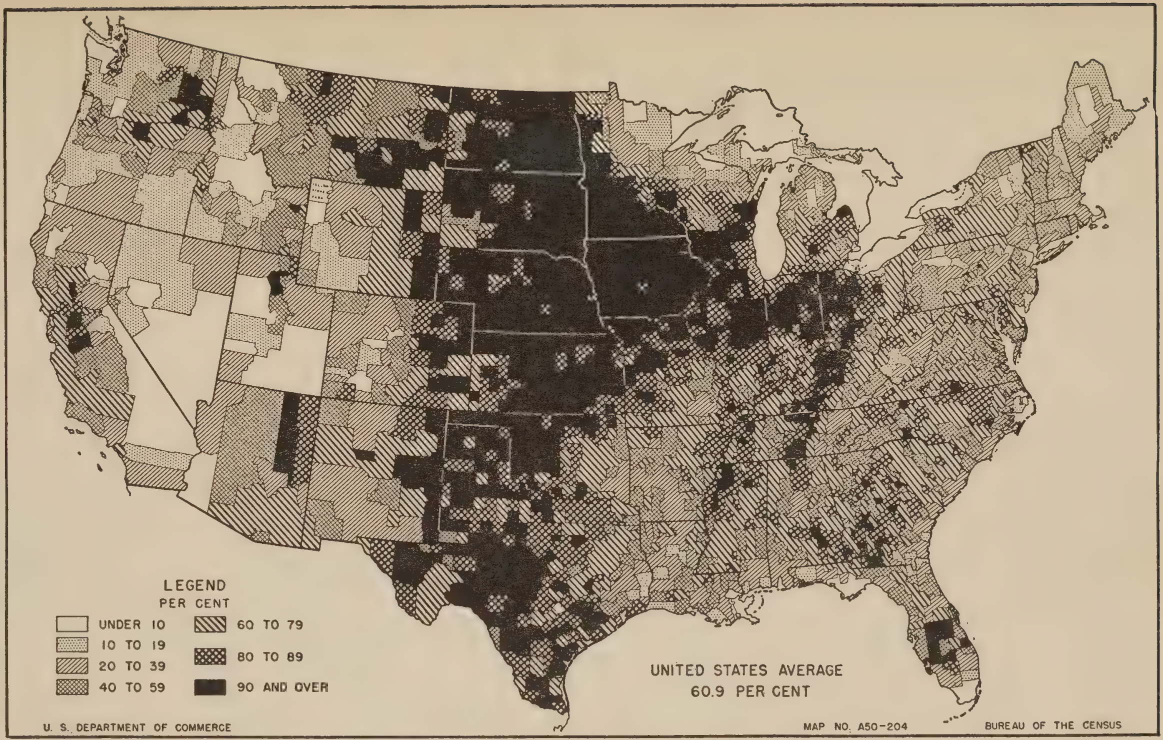
LEGEND
PER CENT
UNDER 10
10 TO 19
20 TO 39
40 TO 59
60 TO 79
80 TO 89
90 AND OVER
UNITED STATES AVERAGE
60.9 PER CENT
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
MAP NO. A50-204
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Figure 5. Percentage of Total Land Area in Farms, April 1, 1950 (County Unit Basis). (Bureau of the Census).

with the latter divided into "rural-farm" and "rural-nonfarm," is extremely useful. Since these categories are basic to an understanding of the official data, a brief explanation is essential. The "new urban" definition used for the first time in 1950 comprises persons in the following categories: (1) places of 2,500 persons or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, and villages; (2) incorporated towns of 2,500 persons or more, except in New England, New York, and Wisconsin where "towns" are simply minor civil divisions; (3) the densely populated areas, incorporated and unincorporated around cities of 50,000 or more; and (4) unincorporated places of 2,500 or more outside any urban fringe. The remainder, therefore, is considered "rural" population. The "rural-nonfarm" population includes all persons living outside urban areas who do not reside on farms. It would include persons living in nonfarm homes in the open country, persons residing in villages and hamlets of less than 2,500 and in the areas surrounding smaller cities. The "rural-farm" population includes all persons living on farms without regard to occupation. Slightly new allocation procedures used to determine farm and nonfarm residence in 1950 resulted in a smaller farm population than if 1940 procedures had been applied.

Under the "old urban" definitions, the urban population of the United States in 1950 was 59.0 per cent; under the "new urban" definition, the percentage was 64.0. The latter percentage includes more than 7 million persons residing in unincorporated parts of urbanized territory and more than one-half million persons residing in places under 2,500 population.

In spite of the undeniable urbanization of the American people, a majority reside in relatively small communities. In 1950, three-fifths of the total population lived in places having fewer than 25,000 inhabitants. Only in seven states, according to the 1950 census, were more than half of the residents living in centers of 25,000 or more. Regional variations in the proportions of population living in specified-sized centers in 1900 and 1950 are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION LIVING IN PLACES OF SPECIFIED SIZE, BY REGION 1950 AND 1900*

	Size of Center and Year									
	250,000 or more		*100,000 to 250,000*		*25,000 to 100,000*		*2,500 to 25,000*		*Under 2,500*	
Divisions	*1950*	*1900*	*1950*	*1900*	*1950*	*1900*	*1950*	*1900*	*1950*	*1900*
United States	23.1	14.4	6.4	4.3	12.3	7.3	17.2	13.7	41.0	60.3
New England	8.6	10.0	17.9	9.1	28.0	22.4	19.9	27.1	25.7	31.4
Middle Atlantic	40.7	35.0	5.3	6.9	11.3	8.5	17.7	14.9	24.9	34.8
East North Central	29.3	18.6	4.9	2.7	14.6	5.9	16.9	18.0	34.3	54.8
West North Central	17.1	5.6	4.1	7.1	9.6	4.3	19.1	11.5	50.1	71.5
South Atlantic	9.8	7.5	7.2	—	11.5	4.9	13.9	8.9	57.5	78.6
East South Central	9.5	—	5.8	4.1	6.6	4.6	13.6	6.3	64.5	85.0
West South Central	15.7	4.4	7.9	—	8.5	3.7	20.8	8.1	47.0	83.8
Mountain	8.2	—	5.7	8.0	12.2	6.7	22.7	17.6	51.2	67.7
Pacific	31.5	14.2	4.6	4.2	11.7	14.1	15.2	13.8	37.1	53.6

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* Classified by "old" urban definition; places under 2,500 include rural areas.
SOURCE: *Statistical Bulletin,* Vol. 33 (April, 1952), p. 2.

Migration between field and center systems. In America, as elsewhere in the world, the rural population supplies human resources to the urban areas through migration. In contrast to many areas of the world, rural persons in the United States have frequent contacts with the cities, and few legal restrictions hamper movement. Due to these factors, adjustment problems of the rural migrant to cities may be less severe than in many parts of the world.

A general overview of the extent of rural population change in the last decades is provided in Figure 6. The increasing rural-nonfarm population, outside the incorporated limits of cities, accounts for the large percentage increases. During the decade, the total population of four states—North Dakota, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Mississippi—actually declined in numbers.

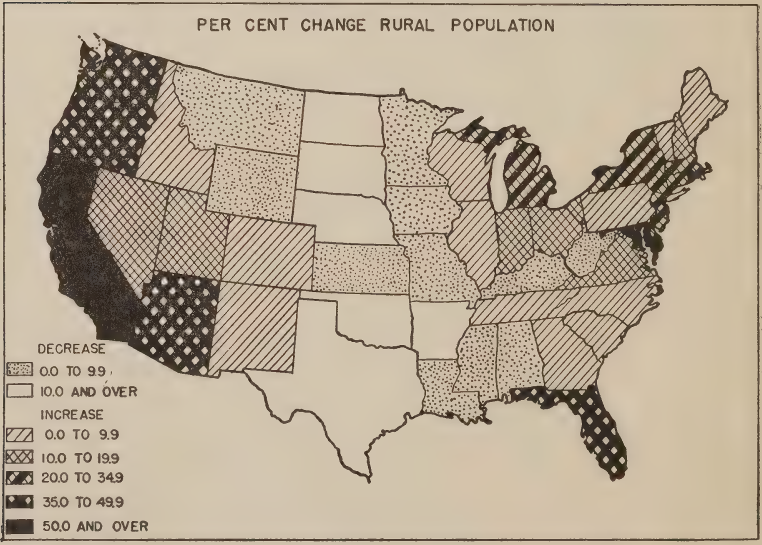

Figure 6. Percentage Change in Rural Population, by States, 1940-1950. States having low rates of gain or decline may be viewed as experiencing out-migration; those having high rates of gain as experiencing in-migration. (Data from the Seventeenth Census of the United States.)

The fringe—between field and center. The area of destination of many rural migrants, of course, is the suburban and fringe areas surrounding the large cities. In part, however, suburban and fringe growths represent a decentralization of the large urban aggregates. Areas surrounding the large cities in the last decade increased in population at three times the rate of the urban centers. Thus, such areas, by all odds, are the most rapidly growing segments of the population. In ninety-seven metropolitan districts, the central cities experienced an increase of 12.1 per cent between 1940 and 1950, while the areas outside the central cities increased by 37.1 per cent in the same time period.[23]

Despite great differences in definitions of the fringe, much attention is currently being directed to problems related to suburban and fringe areas. Kimball, for example, views the fringe as a "new social frontier, possessing many of the attributes once ascribed to the west."[24] Firey lists the following features as characteristic of the fringe: (1) a high rate of population turnover; (2) a high rate of home ownership; (3) a high proportion of young adults with many children; (4) a heavy dependence upon industrial shop work in the city; (5) inadequate social life and organizational factilities; and (6) part-time farming or gardening on the part of most families.[25]

In a study of fringe residents as compared with workers in Lansing, Michigan, Beegle and Schroeder[26] found significant differences with respect to occupation, industry group, income, educational level, and ownership in the two groups. Despite lack of many of the usual urban services, fringe residents were happy with life in the fringe neighborhood. Fringe residents most frequently cited "more space for a garden" as the chief advantage of living in the fringe.

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[23] Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin,* Vol. 35 (July, 1954), p. 7. For a bibliography on the rural-urban fringe, see "The Rural-Urban Fringe—A Special Feature," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (June, 1953), and Walter T. Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe—A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location* (Eugene: Oregon University Press, 1953).

[24] Solon T. Kimball, *The New Social Frontier: The Fringe* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 360, 1949).

[25] Walter Firey, *Social Aspects of Land-Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 339, 1946).

[26] J. Allan Beegle and Widick Schroeder, *Social Organization and Land-Use in the North Lansing Fringe* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Technical Bulletin 251, 1955).

Services of small centers. Although the main occupation of the village in America is manufacturing, the village rarely contains heavy industries. Much more frequently, lumber and paper mills, and food and beverage establishments are located here. According to Kolb and Brunner,[27] the following occupations characterize villages in America: manufacturing; trade or merchandising; domestic and personal services; agriculture; professional service; and transportation. Smith[28] argues that the primary function of the village is trade. Other functions, however, include that of serving as a nucleus for the emerging rural community, that of providing a home for the aged, and that of serving as an arena for rural-urban conflict.

In general, the number and variety of retail services offered in villages increases with increasing size. However, there are a few kinds of businesses that are more prevalent in rural than in urban areas. Examples are general stores with food, farm implement stores, farm and garden supply stores, lumber and building material dealers, filling stations, and grocery stores which do not sell meat.

In their study of the changing role of the small town in Nebraska, Anderson and Miller[29] conclude that certain small town retail businesses compete successfully with city establishments. Between seventy and ninety percent of all foods, farm feeds, farm supplies, banking service, gas and oil, and machinery repair were obtained at villages within the local community boundaries. Clothing, furniture, house furnishings, and doctor and dental services were acquired largely outside the local community in large centers at least twenty-six miles away. The percentage of purchases made outside the local community was greater for young farmers, those of higher socio-economic standing, and those with higher educational levels.[30]

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[27] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1935), pp. 97-100.

[28] T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (1942), pp. 16-21.

[29] A. H. Anderson and E. J. Miller, *The Changing Role of the Small Town in Farm Areas* (Lincoln: BAE and Nebraska AES Bulletin 419, May, 1953), pp. 7-8.

THE SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Communication. Communication refers to the manner in which information passes through social systems and the manner in which opinions and attitudes concerning information are formed or modified. Obviously, communication is related to all the elements we have discussed. From research and experience, we know that the attitudes of individuals are shaped from interaction in social systems. This is not to deny the importance of individual personality, but various experiments in group dynamics and "brain washing" demonstrate that most normal people are tremendously influenced by the social interaction in which they are involved. The so-called Gemeinschaft-like kinship and friendship systems give the rural individual his principal attitudinal motivations. Ordinarily, it is more pleasant to be a conforming member of a group. There is the old saying that birds of a feather flock together. The processes of coming and being together as equals on an intimate basis seem to make the attitudinal characteristics of people similar.

The importance of the printed word, the motion picture, the radio, and television in community action is closely related to the extent to which the communities urbanize, westernize, and possess a high level of living. Any social system which has the power to control the stimuli which reach the decision makers has a tremendous advantage in the determination of action.

Boundary maintenance. On one hand, communities are going concerns in the sense that social action results in the achievement of goals through the functioning of the various elements we have described. On the other, they attempt to maintain territorial boundaries and to counteract forces which may weaken the general acceptance of the values of the system. In more concrete terms, communities not only resist loss of territory, but they will resist "fifth column" activities, propaganda, new ideas, or other influences which members feel will weaken them.

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[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Communities vary greatly in their facility for boundary maintenance. The Amish communities, for example, have special mechanisms designed for boundary maintenance. At an early age children are taught that the Amish are a chosen but a persecuted people and that many types of activity involving non-Amish people are sinful. Tales of immorality in the high schools of surrounding communities are circulated continuously to prevent children from wanting to attend and to prevent adults from giving in to the state laws which require attendance. The distinctive dress, grooming, and taboos on travel and interaction of the Amish are all mechanisms which assist the communities and the whole sub-culture in boundary maintenance. The case of the Amish may be considered exceptional, but similar mechanisms may be observed in most communities.

The community whose members do not think that it is superior may be said to have low morale. Education develops a broadmindedness which counteracts provincialism, but strong communities always have boundary maintenance mechanisms which resist changes that may be at variance with the accepted ends and norms. It has been observed that the greater linkage a rural community has with modern Western urban culture, the less the emphasis upon boundary maintenance. Communities such as those of the Amish near large cities require special mechanisms built into their systems to maintain their ideological and social boundaries.

Decision-making and social-cultural linkage. Are there certain general principles to be followed by change agents in attempting to effect community change? For the most part, the authors believe that most change agents go by rule of thumb and experience. In terms of the concepts we have been using, most effective change agents carry their operation through the initiation, legitimation, and execution stages without formally stated principles. We wish to observe that initiation of change requires good "sales procedures." That is, the initiator must see that the change is identified with the goals of the community and he must attempt to tap the fund of goodwill of the community. Members of the initiation group really function in the role of salesmen. They attempt to bring the members of the target system who possess power into a favorable frame of mind concerning the proposed change. Once the initiation group has started this process, the legitimation group may be formed. Here, speaking again in general terms, the roles of the solicitor and the statesman come to the fore. The proposed change is brought to those decision-makers whose function is that of making the change rightful and legitimate. The legitimizing group may, like the initiating group, include members of the change agent and the change target systems. But, when the legitimation process is taking place, all are a part of the community system. Once the change has been legitimized as a "rightful" thing, the execution may go into effect. In carrying out the change, the roles of the administrator and the executive are more important than those of the salesman and the solicitor.

In the strategy of change the processes of initiation, legitimation, and execution are not distinct and separate processes. All may proceed at the same time. There may be different or similar persons in the systems which carry out initiation, legitimation, and execution. It is important to recognize, however, that one process may call for different qualities on the part of the agent than another.

The decision-making, communication, and boundary maintenance processes as related to pertinent status-roles, patterns of rank and power, ends, and norms of the target system must, of course, be understood by the change agent. In social-cultural linkage, few considerations are more important that the decision-making with respect to the timing of the sequence of events and the distribution of effort and personnel, often called the strategy of change. How this is accomplished will be illustrated by the following case, and by cases in the succeeding chapters.

THE STRATEGY OF CHANGE IN THE RURAL SOUTHEAST—A CASE

To illustrate how the various sub-systems of the community are articulated in community action, the following case, although abbreviated, describes how Southeast County, containing two neighborhood centers of 2,000 population each, initiated, legitimized, and executed a hospital building project. Many aspects of the general pattern of the action could be duplicated in many underdeveloped countries of the world. The italics in the following description are the comments of the authors for the purpose of relating the action to our conceptual scheme.

SOUTHEAST[31]

As it does in every community, the task of building a hospital in Southeast County had a particular history, which is one part of the story. This history really began in the early months of 1945 amidst spring plans for cotton and cattle, when the directors of the Southeast County Farm Bureau first discussed the need to improve hospital facilities. They had learned of impending federal legislation to promote hospital construction, and they also were aware of local discussions about the relationship between modern hospital facilities and attracting and maintaining physicians. But it was not until March 1946 that the Farm Bureau directors met with the probate judge to arrange a public hearing on the advisability of proceeding further on a hospital project. . . .

The regional setting. The visitor to Southeast County is struck by a quite obvious physical factor. Stretching diagonally from northeast to southwest across the county is a strip of prairie soil, bordered on the north and south by smooth to hilly uplands. The strip of soil is the famous Black Belt, the location of the plantation system and cotton culture.[32] Although the Black Belt continues to be the cotton-producing area of Southeast County, the shifting technological basis of agricultural enterprise is an added significant feature. After the cotton boll weevil attacked in 1914, the cotton economy was not only disrupted, but a new emphasis began toward the diversification of agricultural production. The familiar land cover of cotton gave way to grass and livestock.

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[31] The case is abstracted from Paul Miller, *op. cit.,* Chapter 5. Four other cases are presented in this monograph which the authors believe to be among the best presentations of the strategy of change yet written.

Two municipalities provide the major focal points of business and trade. One is Carlin, the county seat, on the edge of the Black Belt. The other is Farmville, in the heart of the Black Belt. Carlin, with a population of just over 2,000, is the location of two small colleges, Broadview College and Carlin Military Academy. Farmville has a population of just under 2,000 and serves as the residence of several large landowners of Black Belt land. Nearby in another county is the city of Melba with a population of 20,000. . . . [*Note that the two neighborhood centers of Carlin and Farmville are not far from Melba, the trade center.*]

Negroes and whites. The rich prairie lands of the Black Belt are the location of the large landowners, the highest rate of tenancy, and the highest rate of Negro tenancy. It is also the area possessing the greater number of Negro owner-operators. The "hill country" of north Southeast County never had a plantation history. There one finds small farm units, few large landowners, and the lowest rates of tenancy and Negro farm ownership. . . . [*Note the two important sub-systems with ecological bases.*]

Political organization. A review of the hinterlands of Southeast County must focus around certain pivotal points. First, one finds a number of "communities" in Southeast County. Each "community" approximates a plantation holding of an earlier day, now the large landowner holding of the present. Each is populated by Negroes and whites who are tenants or who work on the large landed estates. [*The author is indicating that the social ranking system has stratified the society into castes and classes.*] The important focal point of these "plantation-bounded" communities is the social and economic institutions of the store. Although somewhat less than formerly, the Southeast County rural store is a business venture of the large landowners. [*One person has several important status-roles in the action being described. In the store he is creditor, salesman, and advisor.*]

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[32] See *Soils Areas of Alabama,* The Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industry, Montgomery, and Agricultural Experiment Station, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn (1951).

It forms a commissary for the economic and consumer wants of the workers on the estate, and provides the means whereby workers, both Negro and white, may obtain credit from the landowner while awaiting harvest and in periods of agricultural adversity. These complex credit arrangements, and the appointed times for "settlin' and advancing," provide one way for directing the political behavior of people residing in store-centered communities. In this way great numbers of people living on the land are related to the political organization through traditional credit systems. [*Debts or available credit here becomes a facility used in establishing influence.*]

The community organization of Southeast County and its attending political life form a kind of machinery. To this mechanism the holders of influence in the out-county, store-centered communities may initiate, or be initiated by, the incumbents of formally constituted political offices. Informants reported: "At one time you only needed to know 20 men in Southeast County to get things across." The 20 men were actually large landowners in the Black Belt. Another informant said, "The store is where people talk about politics, cotton, and cattle." A former court commissioner noted, "When I was in office I was concerned with only about 20 men and never had to really make a campaign in the usual sense." The same commissioner said, "We want that class of people (certain Black Belt large landowners and storekeepers) to run the county." [*Obviously the twenty men hold high social rank and exercise great power both through the authority inherent in their roles and through influence which is not specificially legitimized.*]

Decision-making capacities. Decision-making in Southeast County has to do with two roles. One is the politically authoritative position of the probate judge and other members of the Commissioners' Court: the other is the influence of the large landowner-storekeeper.

The capacity of influence of the large landowner-storekeeper is actually threefold. One aspect is positional. The other two aspects relate to specific social properties owned by the incumbent of the role. The positional aspect deals with family and kinship position. The important social properties are, first, a resource of respect that is concentrated on "education and refinement," or a "lack of being narrow," and, second, maximum access into the associational life of Southeast County. [*Here and in the following paragraphs the bases for social rank and power are indicated.*] The associational life has been furthered more recently by county-wide special interest groups organized about land and its technologies. . . .

Tangential associations. Several associations integrate the social life of Southeast County still further. They provide opportunities for interaction between entire segments of the county and serve to bring together the incumbents of political offices and the holders of influence. [*Other sub-systems of importance for the strategy of change.*]

Of great importance is the Farm Bureau. This county-wide organization draws a majority of its members from the Black Belt, and is large-owner-dominated insofar as officers and directors are concerned. The Farm Bureau in Southeast County has undergone a recent rapid growth, and throughout a ten-year period an examination of recurring officers and directors demonstrates that the leading and large landowners, doubling as store owners, have been in charge. The second out-county association offering the same sort of tangency as the Farm Bureau is the Cattlemen's Association which, in some ways, is a symbol of the new day of cattle and grassland farming. Officerships in the Farm Bureau and Cattlemen's Association are frequently overlapping. In addition to these two major county-wide associations are found a variety of special interest groups, which often have developed around "the sporting world." Recruiting largely from the large landowner group, these associations are devoted to such interests as "fox hunting dogs," "Tennessee Walking Horses," and "Aberdeen Angus competition." . . .

One very real property owned by those with authority and influence is that of votes. [*In a real sense votes in such situations are facilities necessary for social action. It is only the manner in which they articulate this action which differentiates the* Gemeinschaft *from the* Gesellschaft. *Implicitly political action in a democracy always has many particularistic, or personal referents such as those described here.*] The roles of political office and land ownership prescribe the possession of a quantity of votes which may be exchanged, negotiated for, or used in bargaining for advantage in the strategies which are required. In addition, inward-facing and outward-facing accessibility provide another form of property which enters into the exchanges and bargainings of the system. Hence, in the hospital project, the state political affiliation of the probate judge was a necessary resource.[33]

The sum of this is that knowledge of time-worn political arrangements in Southeast County is crucial to an understanding of how non-political issues are resolved. *Decision-making* in Southeast County has for its scope the entire county, and the above analysis has accented only the importance of the out-county organization, especially as it is concerned with the large landowners and storekeepers of the

[33] V. O. Key, Jr., *op. cit.*, "Probate judges are the ambassadors of their counties in dealing with the government and state departments." (p. 54.)

Black Belt. In addition, the towns of Carlin and Farmville must be included, since they constitute islands of decision-making which are not crucial in the overall initiation of action, but which must be reckoned with for the votes which they possess.

Carlin and Farmville. In Farmville, the city council is composed of landowners who reside in the town, and at least one "old family that came from South Carolina" has passed a membership on Farmville's city council through several generations. In Carlin, members of the city council are not representatives of the large landowner group, but are engaged in business. The male heads of five families have membership on the city council, and have developed certain male civic organizations such as a Junior Chamber of Commerce and, more recently, a Lions Club. Less than ten families control the leadership of the social, recreational, and civic clubs of Carlin. . . .

Carlin is linked to the life of Southeast County by the blood kinship that extends through town and country alike, by the membership of town dwellers in such organizations as the Farm Bureau, by its advantageous communicative position as the county seat, and, importantly, by the business dependence of the town dwellers on the operations of the large landowners.

Farmville is even more directly a part of life in the Black Belt. Farmville, the home of generations of cotton planters, is a center of business and residence for several large landowners of a rich portion of Black Belt land. Until recently, a prominent landowner was a member of the County Commissioner's Court.

The distinction between the two municipalities of Carlin and Farmville is that Farmville is incorporated into the entire county organization for purposes of decision-making, while Carlin, more autonomous, is only recurrently courted for the solution of county problems because of the block of votes which it contains. The manipulation of Carlin is currently more difficult than formerly, when a highly favored probate judge was a Carlin man. Today, the probate judge is an out-county man, not to mention his background in the northern hill country. Farmville informants hold Carlin under suspicion of being unprogressive. As one informant said, Carlin was "just a necessary evil." Also recurrently mentioned is the belief that the city fathers of Carlin are content with the traditions of its two institutions of learning (Broadview College and Carlin Military Academy) and, in a desire to maintain a "peaceful life," have resisted the coming of new business pursuits. One informant stated that the people of Carlin were afraid that the approach of new industry would mean that "The Jews would own it, the Gentiles would run it, and the niggers would enjoy it."

Making Decisions and Gaining Approval

Initiating the project. The history of getting a hospital in Southeast County was a succession of four important decisions. The first decision was to *initiate* the project. Actually, the idea of a new hospital in Southeast County depended on three circumstances. One circumstance was the rapid growth of the county Farm Bureau and a consequent attention to hospitalization insurance. Another was the early familiarity with impending federal legislation to assist local hospital construction. The third circumstance was an increase in the feeling of need by county residents, encouraged by the acceptance of hospitalization insurance but without proper hospital facilities.

The very thought of a hospital immediately provided a mixed public reaction. Such a project would limit the expenditures of public funds for a favored interest, the development and maintenance of rural roads. Too, the project would place an added burden on the chief taxpayers of the county, the 30 or more large landowners in the Black Belt. There were still other groups involved in making the initiatory decision. The first was the Farm Bureau board of directors, with the president who first proposed the plan. The second was the Court of County Commissioners with the probate judge, who could legitimately make the decision. The third element was the large landowner group who, by recognizing the consequences that would disproportionately accrue to them could, with a positional and influential control of the out-county political system, approve or disapprove the entire proposal. [*The center of power and, at least until the action was legitimized, the target system.*] Accordingly, the fundamental problem of starting the project in Southeast County was that of acquiring the cooperation, or neutralizing the influence, of the large landowners in the Black Belt. [*The most important phase of the strategy of change.*] How this was done is the heart of the story of getting a new hospital in Southeast County.

The first negotiation of record is that between the president of the Farm Bureau and the County Commissioner's Court. [*Two systems unite to become the change agent.*] The physicians of the county were invited to the original parley. At this first meeting the representatives of the Farm Bureau made no mention of a possible bond issue to provide Southeast's share of construction costs. Instead, the strategy of carrying the Court included the tactic of explaining that the Farm Bureau would underwrite the local costs, variously estimated from $25,000 to $40,000. That the tactic was successful is proven by the suggestion of the Court that a public hearing be called to explore the matter and to ascertain the public sentiment. As members of the Court reported, the real problem was not one of finance but of bringing the large landowners (the target system) "into the open." Thus, it would be possible to predict potential opposition to the project on the part of landowners and certain political factions, and especially to see if the large landowners would support the hospital "as individuals and outside the Farm Bureau."

The process of social-cultural linkage. So it came about that the public hearing was conducted. In attendance at the Court House meeting were members of the Commissioner's Court, Farm Bureau directors, several large landowners, physicians, and delegates of health, educational, and welfare agencies. The issue of this meeting, apart from gaining support for the project, was to form an official planning and operating body for the hospital. This procedure was prescribed by legislation for compliance in the receipt of federal funds. During the hearing the concern of both the Court and the Farm Bureau directors was that of officially committing the landowner-storekeepers to the project.

Consequently the probate judge appointed a board of 16 directors for a Southeast County Hospital Association. The list of appointees was submitted by the Farm Bureau and included the more prominent large landowners of the Black Belt. By this procedure the strategies of both the Court and the Farm Bureau were fulfilled. The alliance was further secured, moreover, by publishing the names of the 16 Hospital Association directors in the Southeast County weekly paper in order publicly to identify the Black Belt landowners with the proposed project.

The immediate reactions of the landowners were varied. Several admitted that they were individually opposed to the project, but that the promotion tactics had been successful in forcing them to go along with the project. As they pointed out, their reputations of "education and refinement" as traditional Black Belt representatives made it impossible to resist the obviously good implications of a new hospital. In addition, the landowners doubted that the project would succeed, and thus, little would be lost. A few depended on the belief that the Court itself had merely performed the ritual of listening to public interest, and would subsequently delay further action toward a new hospital. . . .

Organizing the sponsoring group. Although the sponsoring organization was visible at the time of earliest initiation, certain subtleties of this process should be emphasized. The County Commissioner's Court was the official sponsor. [*The change agent system.*] Yet, this function was extended to others, making possible the neutralization of the resources and proficiencies of others, especially the landowners of the Black Belt. In Southeast County the initiating decisions were made by decision-makers with the authority of constituted civil offices. Yet, these persons recognized that certain other resources and proficiencies rested with the influential landowners, i.e., wealth, respect, and access. Since strategy may be defined as the attempt to gain or to neutralize the resources and proficiencies possessed by others, mere attendance by the landowners at the public hearing was not enough. Instead, the resources and proficiencies of the landowners had to be "moved over" from the out-county system to a firmly aligned relationship with the Court and the Farm Bureau.

It is significant that after the appointment of the Hospital Association directors, the total Association group became inactive. The executive committee, composed of the original initiating directors of the Farm Bureau, assumed the details of operations. By these devices, the directors of the Farm Bureau became officially and legitimately incorporated, but not as representatives of the Farm Bureau, into the active sponsoring function. Likewise, the locus of rightful decision-making, or legitimacy, moved in and through agencies of civil authority. [*Social-cultural linkage is achieved; the change agent and target systems converged.*]

The overview. . . . Thus, in Southeast County the initiation of the hospital idea was a problem of sponsorship. The rules suggested that a county organization of both civil officials and landowners, the Farm Bureau, should be the locus of initiation. The organization of sponsorship was also the securing of a commitment on the basis of history, tradition, and honor. Then followed the problems of finding enough dollars, using the legal instrumentalities of the Court, official channels to the state capitol, and capitalizing on political debt between county and state. Finally, the one-time officials of the Farm Bureau who had initiated the idea found themselves official agents of the Court, supported by the public commitments of the Black Belt. From there it was a matter of contracts, architects, bricks, sites, and an increasing concern over what would happen when the hospital was built. . . .

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Family and Kinship Systems

IN MANY WAYS STRONG FAMILIES RESEMBLE STRONG communities. The ends or objectives of families are diffuse. They are not often specific enough so that a member can tell another exactly what its purpose is. A typical father will not say that his family exists in order to produce food or to help society control relations between the sexes. Much of the interaction within the family is not rational or instrumental in that it is a mere means to the attainment of specific objectives, as is the case of interaction in a factory run for profit. To the mother, the child is an end in and of itself, and most of the relationships within the family are of this order. Because of these characteristics the family is one of the best examples of Gemeinschaft-like groups.

FAMILY FUNCTIONS

Whether or not family members are conscious of them, the family performs four very important functions in society. First, the family produces children. Second, it provides nourishment and maintenance for its members, a function of special importance while children are still young. Third, it provides the individual of one generation with the most important linkage with the social and cultural systems of previous generations, permitting him to internalize, for example, the ends, norms, status-roles, and authority patterns of these systems. In other words, it provides situations, experiences, and affectual relationships whereby socialization may take place. And fourth, it provides each member with an important reference, identification, or placement, ascribing at least during the early part of life specific status-roles and social rank not only in the family, but also in the general society. In the words of Murdock, "No society, in short, has succeeded in finding an adequate substitute for the nuclear family."[1]

Murdock and Davis[2] have commented not only upon the universality of these functions of the family, but also upon the fact that the four functions within one social system gives the family system special qualities. These functions are not so inextricably interrelated that they could not be carried on by separate social systems. Procreation, for example, could be a function of those who have nothing to do with the subsequent socialization of the child. Support and maintenance, as in the case of orphanages, may be provided by social benefactors who have no direct part in nourishing or socializing the child. Ascription or placement, although closely connected with socialization, is not necessarily and inseparably linked to it.

The family, the group which performs these four functions, differs from all other groupings in society. It is a social system which depends to considerable extent upon biological factors for its solidarity, in that there are sexual relations between two members and biological linkages between all members, or, in the case of adoption, equated biological relations. It is also a work group, a fact too often ignored by many modern students of the family.[3] In the so-called underdeveloped areas of the world, it is often the most important production system. A large portion of the population of the world would die of starvation if the family, as a cooperative system which provides food for its members, were to be impaired.

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[1] George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 11.

[2] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 395-396; Murdock, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 and 295.

Because of childhood dependency and the slowness of human maturation and socialization, the family must be a relatively permanent group. Perhaps more important, the relationships within the family must be intimate. In all societies the family is an important, if not the most important, source of affectional relationships. This appears to be very important in personality development. Apparently a child must be loved and made to feel secure in order to internalize effectively the elements of the society in which he must live as a more independent adult. It has been inferred that those qualities which make it possible for members to internalize the culture in which they are born and to adjust to adult society can only be developed when and if during childhood the child is loved.[4] This is true if the individual is to fill any status-role in modern society, but is more especially true of status-roles, such as those of executives and professionals, characterized by stress. In more general and abstract terms, we may say that ability to function in emotionally neutral relationships, to direct one's life according to universal rather than personal norms, to compete for achieved status, and to fit into status-roles which are very specific in their requirements, necessitates affectional relations during childhood. Throughout human history the family has been the social system upon which society has most consistently relied for the nurturing of these affectional relationships so necessary in the development of stable personalities and the transmission of culture from generation to generation.

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[3] Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Refer also to Leslie White, "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 50, No. 3, Part 1 (1948), pp. 416-434. Carle C. Zimmerman, *Family and Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1955), Chapter 22.

[4] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951). Parsons maintains that "A need-disposition for diffuse affective attachments is presumably a component of the basic personality structure of all normal people in our society." (p. 238.) "We may say that very generally there are underlying need-dispositions to regress into passive dependency. . . . For example, the reaction to latent dependency needs may be particularly important in the dynamics of a society like our own where the expectations of individualistic achievement are particularly pronounced." (p. 262.)

VARIATION IN FAMILY FORMS

Although the family is a universal phenomenon, its form is highly variable. The status-roles occupied by family members are specific to a given culture at a given time. What is defined as man's work in one culture may be woman's work in another. Even the status-roles of children vary in many ways from one culture or one epoch to another, especially with regard to the degree of permissiveness considered proper.

Hierarchical patterns exhibited in families in all cultures are seldom identical in every respect. Two hierarchical patterns, however, are well known. The patriarchal family is that in which the father is the central authority. The matriarchal family, in which descent is usually traced through the mother, represents a pattern in which the mother exercises great authority in decisions affecting family members.

The family also is not identical throughout the world with regard to the composition of adult members. In some cultures there may be more than one wife for each husband, a form called polygyny; in others more than one husband for each wife, a form known as polyandry; and in others, one husband for one wife, a form called monogamy. Regardless of the particular family form, all cultures possess norms regarding what persons may marry. No culture known possesses norms sanctioning universal promiscuity.

Most families as social systems in all societies tend to be Gemeinschaft-like in that relationships within the family tend to be affectual, responsibilities among members tend to be functionally diffuse and personal, or particularistic, and status-roles and social rank are determined largely by ascription rather than by achievement. However, with regard to these and other

Gemeinschaft-like characteristics, there are variations among families in various societies and among various sub-groupings in any one society. Therefore, although it would be improper to classify the families of any known society as Gesellschaft-like, it may be proper to describe the relationships within typical families of a given society as less Gemeinschaft-like than typical families of another given society.

In societies in which the most Gemeinschaft-like families flourish, great authority usually resides in one status-role, either in that of the father or the mother. Furthermore, the older generation dominates the younger members who have little to say about the partners chosen for them, or the age at which they will take partners. There is little place for romantic love in the society which relies upon tradition as a source of norms. Social rank is determined almost entirely by ascription, that is, by kinship, age, and sex. If there is geographical mobility in such societies, as among the nomads, the larger family moves as a unit, thus preventing the disintegration of the control of the community over the various family units and adult members over the youth. In the less Gemeinschaft-like family this type of domination may be less prevalent. Families which fall toward the *Gemeinschaft* pole of various continua are comparable to the consanguine type of family as developed by Linton; families in which the less Gemeinschaft-like or more Gesellschaft-like characteristics prevail may resemble Linton's conjugal type.[5]

In the dichotomy of consanguine and conjugal family types, as developed by Linton, the former consists of a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a number of married persons and their children, while the latter consists of married persons and their children. In the consanguine family, as it is found in rural China, for example, the most important status-roles are the grandfather, son, and grandson. In societies where this type of family prevails, the change agent cannot ignore the dominant line, whether it be male as in the case of China, or female as in some other societies.

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[5] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 160-162.

In conjugal families solidarity and authority reside with the conjugal pair, and in the typical case both husband and wife are important for the change agent who may ignore such "fringe" elements as grandparents. This type of family, common in western societies and more often in urban than rural areas, is highly mobile and adapted to changing social conditions. It is less efficient than the consanguine type, however, with respect to care for aged, perpetuation of property, and care of children in the event of death of parents.[6]

A different classification of families than those mentioned above is that of the family of orientation (the family into which one is born), and the family of procreation (the family which is created when one is married).[7] Obviously, all types of families mentioned represent both families of orientation and procreation. A typical conjugal family in the United States, for example, represents a family of orientation from the point of reference of the children of the family; it would represent a family of procreation from the point of reference of the father and mother.

LARGER KINSHIP SYSTEMS

The larger family having Gemeinschaft-like characteristics seems to lose its solidarity when large structures bearing Western technology develop. The more Gesellschaft-like family form appears to be more compatible with the constellation of bureaucratic social structures which accompany westernization and the introduction of modern technology. The Chinese family, grouped into clans which sometimes contained as many as 200,000 to 300,000 members, until recently retained its Gemeinschaft-like character.[8] These families and other clan-like organizations throughout the world also formed large cooperative social systems built from smaller units or building blocks. Apparently the larger consanguine or Gemeinschaft-like families do not constitute suitable building blocks from which to organize modern bureaucracies.

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[6] Murdock's nuclear family obviously resembles Linton's conjugal type; his extended family resembles Linton's consanguine type. See Murdock, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1 and p. 39. As indicated above, families as social systems, whether conjugal or consanguine, nuclear or extended, are more Gemeinschaft-like than they are Gesellschaft-like.

[7] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

In the larger kinship systems the important "building" principle is always the manner in which families of orientation are linked to families of procreation. The "building" principles permit including and excluding individuals who are biologically related to the core of the larger unit. Murdock[9] has described three types: (1) the residential, (2) the consanguineal, and (3) the composite of these, the clan. The residential and consanguineal types are obviously related respectively to Linton's[10] conjugal and consanguineal family types mentioned previously. The residential type includes husband and wife, but not brother and sister. The consanguineal includes both brother and sister and other blood relatives as determined by the rule of descent, but almost never both husband and wife. Since it has these characteristics it can seldom be a residential unit. The residential kinship system's nature is determined primarily by the prevailing rule of residence. The groom may leave his parental home to live with his bride, either in the house of her parents or in a dwelling nearby, a form known as matrilocal residence. The bride may move to or near the parental home of the groom, a form known as patrilocal residence, or the couple may establish residence in or near either the groom's parents or those of the bride, a form which is called bilocal. If, as in the United States, the new pair goes to the location of neither family of orientation, a form which has been called neolocal is established. Of the 250 primitive rural peoples studied by Murdock, the following forms appeared: 146 patrilocal, thirty-eight matrilocal, twenty-two matri-patrilocal (a form which requires periodic change of residence alternating between the parents of the father and mother), nineteen bilocal, seventeen neolocal and eight avunculocal (a form which prevails in a few societies which prescribe that a married couple shall reside with or near a maternal uncle of the groom).[11]

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[8] Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[9] Murdock, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-68.

[10] Linton, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-163.

Whereas the residential kinship system is based upon the prevailing rule of residence, the consanguineal type is based upon the prevailing rule of descent. In other words, it is based upon the cultural principle whereby an individual is socially allocated to a specific group of consanguineal kinsmen. "Building blocks" for larger systems are created by eliminating the significance to the child of certain members of kin groups. In patrilineal descent, the culture discards the mother's kin group and allows the child to become affiliated exclusively with the father's kin. In matrilineal descent, it is the father's relatives who are discarded. In bilateral descent, such as that of our own society, some of the relatives of both mother and father are discarded. It may be noted that the bilateral descent form has certain disadvantages.

> One result of this peculiarity [failure to designate definite, clearly differentiated, isolatable, discrete kin groups which never overlap with others of their kind] is that the kindred, though it serves adequately to define the jural rights of an individual, can rarely act as a collectivity. . . .
>
> A particular disadvantage of the kindred appears in the instances in which an individual belongs to the kindreds of two other persons and thereby becomes involved in conflicting or incompatible obligations. . . .
>
> Under unilinear descent such conflicts could never arise. . . . This advantage may well account in considerable measure for the marked preponderance of unilinear descent throughout the world.[12]

Of the 250 different societies studied by Murdock 105 were of patrilineal, fifty-two of matrilineal descent, and the remainder of other types.

The social system based upon both the rule of residence and the rule of descent, the clan, is important in those parts of the world to which Western bureaucratic and instrumental technology has not spread. Of 228 societies for which Murdock had data, units larger than the residential or consanguineal family, called the clan, were absent in 131.

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[11] Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[12] Murdock, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

Clans may perform many functions which the immediate family is not of sufficient size to perform. Such functions include military protection, political and governmental operations, organization of religious activities, and maintenance and operation of economic and instrumental enterprises. Clans "tend to arise in a stable, rural society and to disappear when urbanism and industrialism arise. They have played a tremendous role in the history of human society, and even today millions of persons live in clan societies, and many more in societies with a clannish tendency."[13]

DISRUPTION AND THE INCEST TABOO

Since two of man's most important needs are those of sustenance and affectual relations, both of which are provided for in large measure in the family, it is logical to expect that the cooperative relationships which satisfy these needs will be protected by special norms. The incest taboo, the most universal of norms, in reality is a mechanism which apparently prevents disruption of the family or kinship system, the most important production and consumption unit during most of man's existence as a social being on the earth. To quote Davis:

> If sexual relations between parent and child were permitted, sexual rivalry between mother and daughter and between father and son would almost surely arise, and this rivalry would be incompatible with the sentiments necessary between the two. Should children be born the confusion of statuses would be phenomenal. The incestuous child of a father-daughter union, for example, would be a brother of his own mother, *i.e.*, the son of his own sister; a stepson of his own grandmother; possibly a brother of his own uncle; and certainly a grandson of his own father. This confusion of generations would be

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[13] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

contrary to the authoritarian relations so essential to the fulfillment of parental duties.[14]

Although the functions of the incest taboo as described are largely speculative,[15] there are good logical grounds at least for believing that they are not essentially different from the functions of the norms which guard status-role and social rank in organizations such as bureaucracies.

In a recent popular periodical, the story is told of the president of a large university taking the door off his office so that the most lowly college employee could enter at will. According to the periodical, a spirit of democracy prevailed in the office. However, elsewhere it was observed that very few of the students and non-administrative staff members availed themselves of the opportunity of talking with the president. Although encouraged to interact with the president, non-administrative faculty members said they would not feel right about going to the president directly.

It is noteworthy that certain status-roles in the authority structure of a system usually require that the most important interaction be confined to certain specific status-roles. Most frequently, such interaction involves persons of equal rank or of rank immediately above or immediately below. The point we are trying to make is that such interaction is regulated. If it is not regulated, persons in the intermediate status-roles will be placed in stressful positions. Only in exceptional circumstances will a dean feel secure if faculty and staff interact more frequently with the president than he does. The dean might say that the situation was developing to a point where there were "wheels within wheels" and that he was getting "the squeeze." In the same manner, in a family, if what is defined as incest were permitted, the father (or mother) presumably exercising authority over the child, would find his own prerogative usurped by the child whom he outranks. Thus the incest taboo, the most universal of the norms, appears to prevent disruption. Since for most of the rural peoples of the world the effective cooperation of the family members in a work team is necessary for existence, it is not difficult to understand why the sanctions against its violation are usually very drastic.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 403. "In no known society is it conventional or even permissible for father and daughter, mother and son, or brother and sister to have sexual intercourse or to marry." Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 12. See the rare exceptions, p. 13.

[15] Harry C. Bredemeier, "The Methodology of Functionalism," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April, 1955), pp. 173 ff.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES

We have seen from the preceding discussion that the family system is universal, but that there are many variations in its form and that the form in existence at a given place at a given time tends to represent an adaptation to the circumstances existing at that place and that time. The conjugal family characteristic of this country, has numerous Gesellschaft-like traits. But just as there are rural and urban differences in American society, so there are important demographic differences between rural and urban families which will be treated under the followings headings: (1) the birth rate; (2) the infant mortality rate; (3) household composition; and (4) age structure.

The birth rate. On the whole, rural families tend to be larger than urban families and there are functional reasons why this is true. Among these is the fact that the rural family is a production unit and as such needs enough workers to get its work done efficiently. The urban family, on the other hand, needs to be mobile and readily adaptable to change in modern society; it is seldom primarily a producing unit. Insofar as both rural and urban families are able to plan rationally for the future, their birth rates tend to fall. Insofar as families strive for higher levels of living, control their destinies, and attempt to improve their conditions of life, birth control practices are generally introduced, even where the older religious norms forbid them. The spread of modern Western technological culture, with its rational or instrumental components, may be expected to bring lower birth rates to the areas it invades.[16] However, death rates tend to be reduced more rapidly than birth rates, and increased population may place pressure on the available resources.

From a long-run point of view, the birth rate in Western societies, in both rural and urban parts, has been declining. The pattern of decline is such that the urban birth rates fall first, followed by those of the rural areas. The most rural portions of a given country, those most isolated from cities, are usually most resistant to change, including change in the birth rate. The spread of birth control, decreased birth rates, modern technology, and urbanization go hand in hand.

Crude birth rates for the United States for the period 1915-1952 are shown in Figure 7. With few exceptions, the course of the crude birth rate in the United States has been downward until 1933, after which there have been remarkable increases in the birth rate, especially in the '40's. The highest point in the crude birth rate since 1915, it will be noted, was recorded in 1947. Figure 7 also shows the trends in marriage and divorce rates since 1915. The peak in both rates, it may be noted, came in 1946. The high marriage rates of the early and mid '40's, in part explain the "Baby Boom" of the late '40's. The divorce rate, it may be noted, has climbed gradually since 1915. After reaching a peak in the mid '40's, however, it has declined slightly.

Although farm fertility rates are now higher than urban fertility rates, the difference has been reduced during the last decade. Standardized and corrected fertility ratios for urban and rural women are shown in Table 2. Rural-farm fertility ratios are considerably higher than urban ratios, but the percentage increase in the 1940-50 decade was approximately twice as great for the urban population. Although the consensus of demographers is that differential fertility among various groupings in America has been in the process of contracting, Westoff

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[16] A very strong case for the argument advanced here may be found in R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *The Causes of the Decline in Birth Rate Within the European Sphere of Civilization* (Cold Spring Harbor, New York: Eugenics Research Association, Monograph Series IV, 1931).

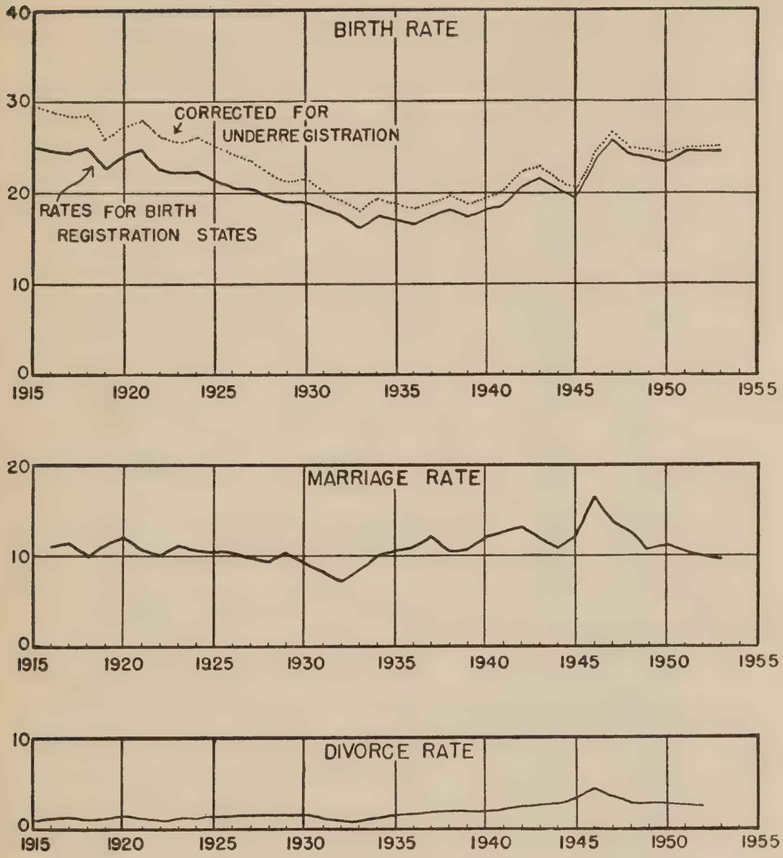

Figure 7. Crude Birth Rates, Marriage, and Divorce Rates in the United States, 1915 to 1952. For 1940 and 1950, based on population enumerated as of April 1; for all other years estimated as of July 1. Birth and divorce rates for 1941-46 based on population including armed forces overseas; for 1940 and 1947-53 based on population excluding armed forces overseas. Marriages estimated except for 1925, 1930 and 1944-51. Divorces estimated except for 1925 and 1930. (Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1954,* pp. 63-65.)

finds the evidence concerning rural-urban differentials inconclusive. The contraction has occurred in the last decade due to greater urban increases during the baby boom.[17]

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[17] Charles F. Westoff, "Differential Fertility in the United States: 1900-1952," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 19, No. 5 (October, 1954), pp. 549-561.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20-44 YEARS OLD, FOR THE UNITED STATES BY COLOR AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE: 1900 TO 1950 (ALL RATIOS STANDARDIZED FOR AGE OF WOMEN AND CORRECTED FOR UNDERRENUMERATION AND MORTALITY OF CHILDREN)

Color and Residence	*Fertility Ratios*							*Per Cent of Change*				
	1950		*1940*	*1930*[2]	*1920*	*1910*[3]	*1900*[4]	*1940-1950*[5]	*1930-1940*	*1920-1930*	*1910-1920*	*1900-1910*
	New Urban Definition	*Old*[1] *Urban Definition*										
All classes	622		466	571	675	748	812	+33	−18	−15	−10	− 8
All classes:												
White	608		454	552	665	721	768	+34	−18	−17	− 8	− 6
Nonwhite	740		565	623	717	953	1,141	+31	− 9	−13	−25	−16
All classes:												
Urban	545	534	354	436	524	551	—	+51	−19	−17	− 5	—
Rural nonfarm	747	729	559	671	760	—	—	+30	−17	−12	—	—
Rural farm	876	875	752	865	953	—	—	+16	−13	− 9	—	—
(Total rural)	795	775	650	771	872	976	—	+19	−16	−12	−11	—
White:												
Urban	540	529	354	440	536	557	—	+49	−20	−18	− 4	—
Rural nonfarm	728	712	553	670	764	—	—	+29	−17	−12	—	—
Rural farm	812	811	709	837	927	—	—	+14	−15	−10	—	—
(Total rural)	758	742	623	752	855	928	—	+19	−17	−12	− 8	—

TABLE 2 (*Continued*)

Color and Residence	*Fertility Ratios*							*Per Cent of Change*				
	1950		*1940*	*1930*[2]	*1920*	*1910*[3]	*1900*[4]	*1940-1950*[5]	*1930-1940*	*1920-1930*	*1910-1920*	*1900-1910*
	New Urban Definition	*Old*[1] *Urban Definition*										
Nonwhite:												
Urban	584	576	360	397	387	475	—	+60	− 9	+ 3	−19	—
Rural nonfarm	962	929	619	684	719	—	—	+50	−10	− 5	—	—
Rural farm	1,226	1,265	966	996	1,082	—	—	+31	− 3	− 8	—	—
(Total rural)	1,115	1,083	837	886	970	1,241	—	+29	− 6	− 9	−22	—

Source: Charles F. Westoff, "Differential Fertility in the United States: 1900-1952," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (October, 1954).

[1] Computed from Census Bureau estimates of the age distribution of the 1950 population according to 1940 Census definitions of urban-rural residence. The Census Bureau estimated the age distribution for the rural nonfarm and rural farm populations. Statistics for the urban population and for total children under 5 for all three classes were not estimated. Comparison of the above ratios for the two definitions suggests that there may have been an over-estimate of the number of rural nonfarm women 20 to 44 years old, implying that the actual fertility ratio should be somewhat higher for this group according to the 1940 definition. The main consideration is the age distribution of women living in suburban areas, since this group was directly affected in the re-definition.

[2] Mexicans classified as white.

[3] The subdivision of rural into nonfarm and farm residence in 1910 is not presented for these fertility ratios for various reasons of noncomparability with later census statistics. This detail for 1910 is shown for other types of fertility measures which include comparisons based wholly on special Census Monograph Series.

[4] The Census of 1900 did not employ the urban-rural definitions used in later censuses.

[5] Percent of change computed on basis of the 1940 Census definition of urban-rural residence.

In addition to the difference in levels of fertility between rural and urban populations, mention should be made of other differences. Numerous studies show the birth rate to be inversely related to such variables as level of education, income, and occupation. Two of these variables, namely income and occupation, have been related to completed fertility and are shown in Table 3. Note the regularity with which fertility declines with increasing income. Notice also that the wives of professional and white collar groups have relatively few children, while the wives of farm groups and urban laborers have relatively large numbers of children.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED 45 AND OVER (MARRIED, HUSBAND PRESENT), CLASSIFIED BY INCOME OF HUSBAND IN 1951 AND BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED HUSBAND, U.S., 1952

Income of Husband and Major Occupation	*Number of Children Ever Born per 1,000 Married Women aged 45 and Over*
Income of Husband	
TOTAL	2,727
Under $1,000	3,551
$1,000 to $1,999	2,854
2,000 to 2,999	2,683
3,000 to 3,999	2,417
4,000 to 4,999	2,178
5,000 to 6,999	2,208
7,000 and over	2,095
Major Occupation of Employed Husband	
TOTAL, employed	2,568
Professional, technical and kindred workers	1,780
Farmers and farm managers	3,302
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	2,104
Clerical and kindred workers	2,013
Sales workers	1,831
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	2,575
Operatives and kindred workers	2,828
Service workers, including private household	2,636
Farm laborers and foremen	4,194
Laborers, except farm and mine	2,991

SOURCE: Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 46, December 31, 1953.

As would be expected, rural countries such as Mexico have higher fertility ratios than the United States. Thus in Mexico in 1950 there were 576 children under five years for each 1,000 women between fifteen and forty-nine years of age. The comparable figure for the United States was 417 which means that the Mexican ratio was 38 per cent higher than that of the United States.[18]

The infant mortality rate. One of the best indexes of the standard of living of a people is the rate of infant mortality. In certain underdeveloped areas of the world, it is not uncommon for one third of the children to die during the first year of life. In Mexico from 1939-43 one child out of every eight died before reaching the age of 1 year. In Chile it was slightly less than twice as high.

Conditions in various regions and states of the United States with respect to infant mortality are variable. Because infant mortality among Negroes and whites are so divergent, the two groups must be separated in any discussion of rural infant mortality rates in the United States. The highest infant mortality rates are recorded in the Southwest, Appalachian Mountain areas, and Maine. Lowest rates are found in the Great Plains, Northwestern states, and certain Northeastern states. The lowest rural white infant mortality rate in 1949 was reported in Nebraska (20.7); the highest in New Mexico (67.0). Infant mortality rates among rural non-whites are, of course, considerably higher than among rural whites. The average rural non-white infant mortality rate in 1949 was 49.0 per 1,000 live births. In at least eight states this rate exceeded 100 per 1,000.

Almost all the underdeveloped areas of the world have high death and birth rates. As these cultures introduce modern health ideas and practices and the death rates fall, populations increase rapidly until birth rates begin to fall. The first step of this sequence, a modern health program and a decreased death rate, has been taken in Puerto Rico, for example. If the past may be used as a basis for the prediction of the future, the "westernization" of these areas will not only bring the advantages of Western technology to the families, but will also bring a configuration of traits which will lower birth rates and make these societies more Gesellschaft-like. More action in the family will become rational in the sense that means will be shaped to the ends. "Planned families" in which birth control is practiced will become general. The activities of the family as a productive unit will become less important. The introduction of modern Western technological culture in underdeveloped areas will eventually bring with it the same elements which appear to have made urban replacement rates lower than rural rates in the Western world. It must be recognized, of course, that generalizations of this type may have their exceptions.

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[18] R. G. Burnight, N. L. Whetten, and B. D. Waxman, "Differential Rural-Urban Fertility in Mexico," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (1956), pp. 3-8. See also Nathan Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 390.

Household composition. In addition to the fact that farm households contain more children than urban households, they differ with respect to marital status and the extent to which "fringe" persons are incorporated into the family units.

As shown in Table 4, the marital status of farm and urban persons differs considerably. Due to an imbalance in the sex ratio (number of males in relation to number of females) in urban and rural areas, the percentages are given separately. Urban males as a whole are more frequently married than rural

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX, 1950

Residence and Sex	*Per Cent of Total*		
	Single	*Married*	*Widowed and Divorced*
Urban Males	25.0	68.6	6.4
Urban Females	20.6	63.8	15.5
Rural-Nonfarm Males	26.7	67.0	6.2
Rural-Nonfarm Females	17.8	69.1	13.1
Rural-Farm Males	31.0	64.0	4.9
Rural-Farm Females	20.6	70.8	8.7

SOURCE: Seventeenth Census of the United States.

males as a whole. This is not true of all age groups, as shown in Figure 8. Urban females, however, are less frequently married than rural females. Larger proportions of widowed and divorced persons, both males and females, are found in urban areas.

The proportions of urban and rural-farm persons married at various ages are shown in Figure 8. The Census collects these data in such a way that each bar in Figure 8, if extended to 100 per cent, would also include "single," "widowed," and "divorced" persons. With this in mind, several comments may be made. First, larger proportions of farm persons, both males and females, are married for nearly all age groups.[19] Second, throughout the life span, a considerable proportion of the population over fourteen lives in one of the non-married statuses, and

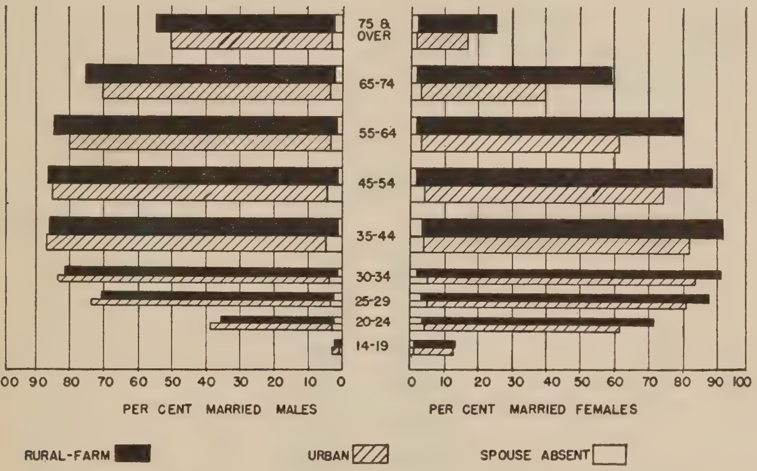

Figure 8. Percentage Married (and Presence or Absence of Spouse), by Age and Sex for Urban and Rural Farm Areas, United States, 1950. Note that proportions of married males are larger for urban than rural-farm residents for age groups from 14-44. (Source: Seventeenth Census of the United States.)

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[19] In more Gemeinschaft-like cultures, such difference may be even greater. In Mexico, for example, the percentage of all females fourteen to nineteen classified as married is more than double that in the United States; the difference is even greater for males aged sixteen to nineteen in the two cultures. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

finally, among those married, the spouse is absent in significant proportions in all age groups.

The number of families in the United States is increasing dramatically. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of families increased by 6.1 million, or by 19 per cent. It is noteworthy that families are increasing more rapidly than population, due in part to lowered age at marriage. Percentage change in number of families in various states in general reflects interstate movements of population during the decade. Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi each gained one per cent in number of families;

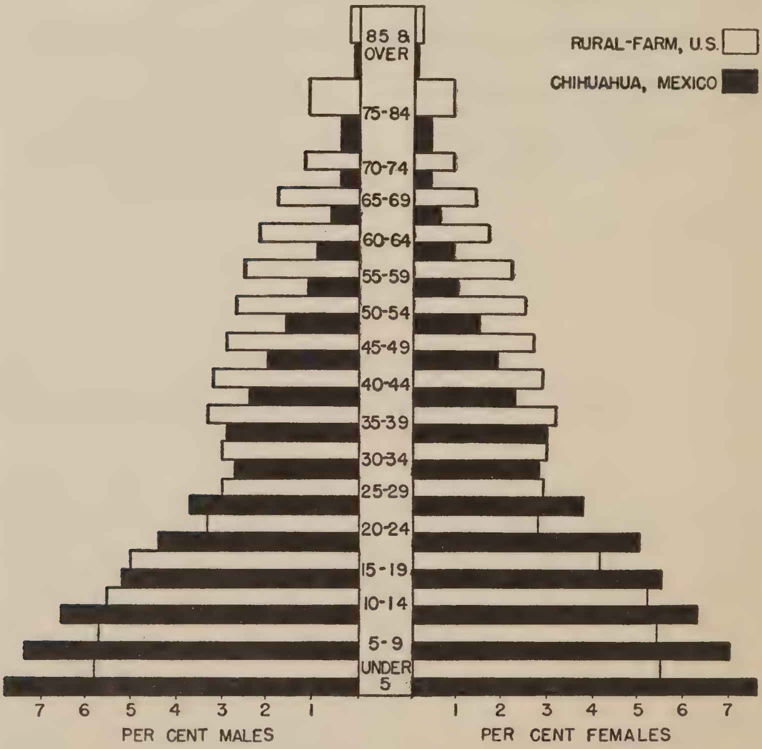

Figure 9. Age-Sex Pyramids for Chihuahua State, Mexico and Rural-Farm Population of the United States, 1950. (Source: *Septimo Censo General De Poblacion, Estado De Chihuahua,* and *Seventeenth Census of the United States.*)

California, Arizona, Nevada and Florida each gained more than 50 per cent in number of families.[20]

Age structure. One of the most significant differences between the so-called underdeveloped areas and the Western societies is revealed in age structure. Briefly, the age structures of the two type areas are in sharp contrast, primarily as a result of the levels of the birth and death rates. Some of the main differences are shown in Figure 9, in which the age structure of the rural-farm population of the United States in 1950 is compared with the age structure of the State of Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1950. In relation to the farm population of the United States, Chihuahua, Mexico, contains larger proportions of young and smaller proportions of aged. Furthermore, the Mexican state shows less out-migration of the economically-productive aged groups, doubtlessly owing largely to lesser urban, industrial development in Mexico.

Through a selective migration which draws more females than males into the urban areas, imbalance between the sexes results both on the farms and in the cities. In 1950, the sex ratio (number of males per 100 females) in the farm areas of the United States was 110; in the cities, 95. Hence, the farm areas of the country have an "excess" of males and the urban areas have a "deficiency" of males.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF FAMILY SYSTEMS

All family systems pass through life cycles, although the consanguine type of family has a much longer existence than the conjugal family because replacement of members in the latter does not provide for the perpetuation of continuous interaction systems.[21] The conjugal family begins its life cycle at marriage. With the addition of children, the family grows in size until children begin to leave home for employment or marriage. From the period that the last child is born to the time the first leaves home, the family is usually constant in size. As the children leave the parental home the unit decreases, and with the death of the last parent it passes out of existence.

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[20] "Nationwide Increase of Families," *Statistical Bulletin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company* (November, 1954), pp. 4-6.

[21] See Charles P. Loomis, "Studies of Family Life Cycles," *Studies of Rural Social Organization, op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

If we examine changes in the life cycle of the American family during the last fifty years, we may gain some idea of the changes which the introduction of Western technology may bring to the underdeveloped areas of the world. Figure 10 indicates the changes in the life cycle between 1890 and 1940. In 1890, the death of the father usually occurred about two

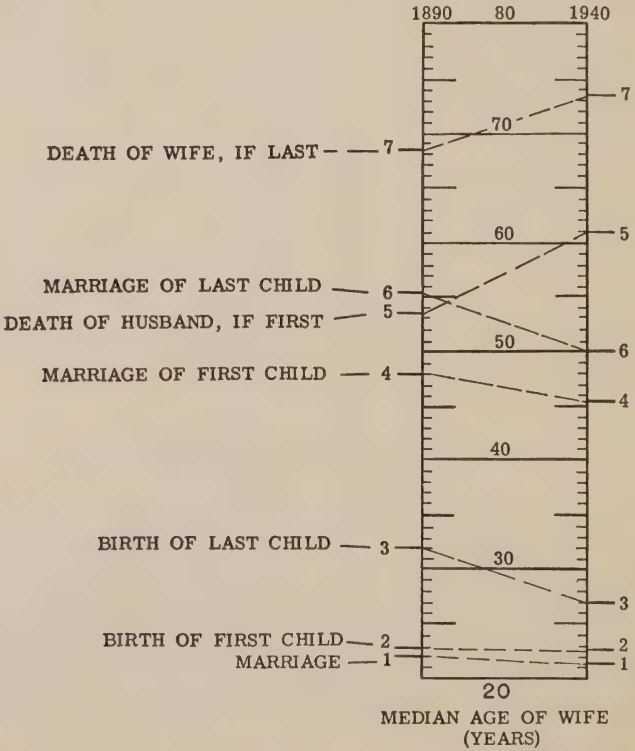

Figure 10. Stages in the Family Cycle in the United States, 1890 and 1940. (Adapted from William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Introduction to Sociology*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950, p. 474.)
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years before the last child married. In 1940, the couple lived together eleven years after the last child married. In 1890, the average pair had 5.4 children; by 1940 the comparable figure was only 3.1.

The importance of understanding the life cycle of the families with which a change agent works should be obvious. Unfortunately, many agencies do not differentiate between families which are in different stages of the life cycle. Blackwell's[22] study of farm families on relief during the great depression indicated that relief agencies gave relatively little assistance to families when there were many young children, no doubt because the parents were considered to be more able. These families felt the "pinch" of hard times more than families in other stages of the life cycle which received relatively more relief.

Elsewhere, details have been presented concerning the differences in consumption and production patterns of families in various stages of the life cycle.[23] Such differences are worthy of note for farm managers, family suppliers, and adult educators, since the success or failure of their programs are often dependent upon the proportion of families having reached a given period of the life cycle. For example, after several county agents told the authors that they had particular difficulties with their programs in certain areas of their counties, we noted from census materials that a large proportion of the farmers were old and many young adults had left the areas. Areas like these are becoming more common in the United States and pose special problems. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note how few programs in rural areas are designed for older people, even though it is known that our farm population is aging and fewer families are in the early stages of the life cycle.

[22] G. W. Blackwell, "Correlates of Stage of Family Development Among Farm Families on Relief," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 2 (1942), pp. 161-174, see also, C. P. Loomis, "The Study of the Life Cycle of Families," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. I, No. 2 (June, 1926).

[23] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 78 ff.

THE FAMILY AND ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

No social system is as important in the creation of personality and in training for social life as the family. Although social scientists recognize that it is not yet possible to specify exactly how the wide range of personalities encountered in society is formed and how much of the personality is formed by biological inheritance, no one doubts the importance of the family as a socializing agency. For the vast majority of people throughout the world, the family is the first social system experienced, and it is here that many of the lifelong aspirations, expectancies, and social understandings or misunderstandings are produced. Even the basic pattern of interaction of individuals is developed in the family.

Ends and objectives. Fichte, the great German philosopher, posed the question: "What noble-minded person does not want as a result of his efforts to view his own life repeated anew in his children and again in his grandchildren in an improved, ennobled and perfected form long after he has died?"[24] He is probably correct in expecting the general answer, "none," but the concrete ends of individuals differ from class to class and group to group in each society. Some set as the prime goal a happy family. Others, although relatively successful in their status-roles as family members, judged by the standards of their peers, commit suicide when they fail to achieve in their occupations according to the standards or norms they and their families have learned. Although all socially sensitive people orient their lives to the groups which are most important to them, there is considerable variation in the alternatives chosen, due in no small measure to early training in the family.

Throughout the world, the rural societies generally place a high value on having a family and children. The families of various cultures inculcate in the youth the ends in accordance with the requirements of the system. In the original Hindu family, for the women, "pride in their son became the main consolation of their life but attendance upon their husband remained their chief duty."[25] They also believed that one who does not marry goes to hell. In precommunist China, few goals were more important for the individual than perpetuating the family. In all cultures, and particularly in rural cultures, the important goals of individuals are instilled in the family.

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[24] Fichte, *Rede an die deutsche Nation.*

Norms. Not only does the family implant the goals toward which the individual will later strive, but also the standards by which they may be attained. He internalizes the standards defining what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. Unfortunately, not enough data are available on rural and urban families to draw conclusive generalizations concerning norms in the two situations. However, the social systems to which rural people belong less frequently impose conflicting norms, partly because they are influenced by fewer reference groups having varying ends and norms. For example, in many city communities parents may attempt to inculcate truthfulness and respect for the property of others as universal norms. At the same time boys' gangs may set the stage for stealing from and lying to people outside these gangs. Such conflicts, although they do exist, are less frequent in most non-urbanized societies.

In all societies the norms of the lower classes differ from those of the upper classes. Since vertical mobility in general is of less magnitude in rural society than in urban society, the norms imposed on rural people from birth to death vary less than those imposed in urban society. In fact, cities having great in-migration, part of which comes from rural areas, have high suicide rates. This is, in part at least, explained by problems involved with conflicting values or with a loss, during migration, of reference groups which served to impose norms and ends. Migrants are often like driftwood on the sea. They have no clear objectives or destination, and they are confused about their norms or methods of reaching goals.

[25] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

Societies vary in the amount of emphasis placed upon norms in contrast to ends; in what one might call the *how* as contrasted with the *what* of action. In all societies it is more honorable to have achieved power and wealth according to the norms of the society than by violating them, but in some societies it is more general to make the good or rightful life an end in and of itself than in others. The societies which lay great stress upon norms or rightful ways are "sacred" cultures, others may be more "secular." In general, many of the norms inculcated by the rural family are ends in and of themselves. Rural societies tend to be more sacred; the ends less frequently justify the means in rural than in urban societies.

These considerations are important for the change agent working in rural society. Often effective procedures and organization are resisted because the old ways are the "right" ways, and new, more efficient ways may be considered sinful, especially if they violate sacred taboos or other norms. Although resistance to change is more common in rural than urban areas, it shall be maintained throughout this book that urbanization is spreading to rural areas throughout Western culture. The reasons for this have been summarized by Parsons and Bales.

> With the development of the modern type of occupational structure in industrialized societies, there must also be a change in family structure if only because the same person, e.g., the husband-father, plays crucially important roles in both structures, and because children must be socialized for roles in both.[26]

Status-roles. It is in the family and play groups that the individual learns the basic components of the most important status-roles of society. George Herbert Mead and others have observed that the very essence of personality grows out of practice in playing roles to which one must react. Certain family status-roles furnish a reference point which one carries throughout life. It is on the basis of these patterns that fraternal orders and sororities function. In sickness the patient may appreciate the nurse who appears motherly to him, and such imposition of status-roles may be important in the healing arts. In fact, the basic status-roles are projected to the unknown and we pray, "Our Father Who art in heaven. . . ." Religious orders have fathers, brothers and many other status-roles based upon the family pattern. The importance of the family as a prototype of a system of status-roles is obvious. The following quotations are revealing in reference to family status-roles: "He was more like a father to me than a boss"; "He talked to me like a Dutch Uncle and I resolved not to do that again"; or "He acted like a babe-in-arms."

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[26] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 390.

An institution known as the *compadrazgo* establishes status-roles in Latin American communities which appears to function as an integrating agency among the various kinship and class systems.[27] At the birth of a child or sometimes as soon as pregnancy is certain the parents choose a godfather (*padrino*) and a godmother (*madrina*) for the child. These godparents arrange for the baptism of the child, accompany him to the ceremony, and pay for the ritual. In many rural areas the godparents serve as co-parents (*compadres*) and have a lifelong interest in the welfare of the godchild. Thus the institution links two families, providing the godchild a social family of orientation in addition to the biological family of orientation. If a child's biological parents die, it is the duty of the godparents to take the godchild to their home and rear him as their own. Redfield found that urbanization tended to weaken the *compadrazgo* relationships.[28]

In Mexico and most other Latin American countries many children, particularly those of domestic servants, are born out of wedlock. The authors have advanced the hypothesis that this practice is self-perpetuating, not only for economic reasons, but also because children have no opportunity to internalize the father's status-role, since they may never know their biological father or any other man in the status-role of father.[29]

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[27] Sol Tax, *et al., Heritage of Conquest—The Ethnology of Middle America* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), p. 101.

[28] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 211.

The status-roles of the members of rural families are usually definite, with age and sex being the principal determinants. What is the status-role of the man in one society may be the status-role of the woman in another; what is done by adults in one may be done by children in others. But in any specific rural society, certain status-roles are prescribed according to age and sex. When activities are rationalized, it is often found that there is no intrinsic reason for the division of labor, and activities which in the rural hinterland are women's work may become man's work in the cities. Rural males from outlying districts in this country may be surprised to find male cooks, male bakers, or male dress designers in city establishments.

Any male agricultural agent, especially in Latin American or most underdeveloped areas where there is considerable separation of the sexes, may find it difficult to change practices in the home, because as males they are not permitted interaction with the women who occupy housekeeping status-roles. The status-roles of physician and priest, in part at least, have met the difficulty of bridging sex status-roles in that the church father and the medical doctor advise women in the province of their status-roles. These examples are mentioned merely to stress the importance of knowledge of the status-role structure of families and society if change is to be understood. The part of the women in cultural change in the so-called backward areas may be great indeed. In areas in Latin America which are relatively untouched by modern Western technological culture, the acceptance and use of the sewing machine and corn grinder by women is more general than other types of acculturation and has demonstrated woman's importance in cultural change.

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[29] Whetten, *op. cit.*, p. 288. In this connection, the convergence of research done by Bales and by Parsons has significance for rural sociology. The former differentiated two types of leaders which cannot be alternated, namely the "task or instrumental leader" and the "popular or expressive leader." Parsons delineates the "male-instrumental" and "female-expressive" status roles. Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, Chapters 1, 5, and 7.

Power. The authority and rights of the members of families are prescribed by law and custom in all societies and furnish the basic pattern of control. In Freudian and neo-Freudian psychological theory, the father figure which may represent a strictly disciplinarian role is internalized and may furnish the generalized basis whereby individuals respond to and occupy roles of authority. Of course, from a broad anthropological and sociological viewpoint, in many cultures the biological father is not the disciplinarian at all. In all societies, however, one status-role, whether it be the biological father, the biological mother, or the uncle, has more authority over family members than other status-roles. Regardless of what status-role articulates authority, that role extends and receives less affection than more expressive status-roles. In societies in which grandparents relinquish control over sons and daughters who marry and have children, the grandparent-grandchildren relationship is usually warm and indulgent; in societies in which such control is not relinquished, this relationship is usually more formal.[30]

In general, we may say that the activities of different family members in large measure determine the authority within the family. The pattern of authority and immunity from authority within the family is related to the evaluation members place upon given status-roles. Among the Eskimos, for example, the women prepare food and clothing while the men are fishing and hunting away from the igloos. This indispensable division of labor and resultant status-roles permits little opportunity for either sex to become dominant.[31]

The observation has been made repeatedly that the children of immigrants to the United States are relatively immune from the influence of authoritarian parents, owing in large measure to more complete assimilation of the children and their economic importance to the family unit. Humphrey[32] reports that Mexican girls in Detroit often declare their independence from their fathers, owing in part to their economic value. Girls can earn money in Detroit, whereas in Mexico it is more difficult. In the economic life of the typical Mexican family in Mexico, the young girl is often an economic loss and has little chance for an independent existence outside the family. In all of the rural societies from which modern Western urban technological culture developed, the biological father is the chief authority.

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[30] Dorrian Apple, "The Social Structure of the Grandparent-Grandchild Relationship," *Abstracts of Papers Delivered at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society* (New York: American Sociological Society, 1955), p. 58.

[31] Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Based upon a study of family systems by Zelditch, Parsons and Bales, it is concluded that most nuclear families differentiate between status-roles characterized by task leadership and power on one hand and by expressive functions on the other. In the American middle class "the cult of the warm, giving 'mom' stands in contrast to the 'capable,' 'go-getting' male." Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

For any change agent attempting to change farm and home practices, it is important to know to whom and under what circumstances action is initiated in the ordinary family. When agents attempted to introduce improved home practices into Macedonia, for instance, the men said women would become immoral if they had more time through the use of improved practices.[33]

Of course, the general authority structure of the family in a given society is never enough for a change agent to know. Very frequently, even where the society pronounces the father as the "lord and master," the intelligent wife may have every aspect of the home and farm "under her thumb," so to speak. This is obvious in all societies, and makes it possible to illustrate the difference between authority, or the right to influence others, and influence which is not necessarily based upon this right. In this connection, we may mention the problem of deviancy in the matter of family control. In any society in which the husband is supposed to be in control and is not, he is certain to occupy a stressful position. In our own culture where achievement is rated highly, mediocre men married to successful professional women almost universally betray evidence of stress from this source by overacting, false claims, and in many other ways.

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[32] N. D. Humphrey, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family, An Index of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. IX, No. 6 (December, 1944), pp. 622-626.

[33] H. B. Allen, *Come Over into Macedonia* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press), 1943.

Social rank. As indicated previously, one of the most important functions of the family of orientation is that of placement of the members in the larger society. Marriage establishes the social rank in the general society for members of the family of procreation. Here we are most concerned with the rank of the members within the family, but it should be remarked that in general the rank or standing in the family given to individuals because of sex and age is carried into the larger society. "The rule of residence," for instance, "helps explain the 'low' position of Hindu women. Since daughters were destined to leave the household at an early age, they were not valued as highly as were the permanent male members. The incoming daughters-in-law, young strangers from another household, were equally disvalued. They were felt to be of a lesser order than the males of the household. Not until they bore a son did they gain respect in their adopted home."[34]

Sanctions. We may observe that generally the more desired resources a system has to offer as rewards to its members, the more effectively it may enforce its norms on its members. It has been observed that the small urban middle class family enforces its norms upon the children more effectively than the urban lower class family, in part because of the available rewards such as toys, costly pleasures, and the like which may be withheld in case of disobedience.

Davis and Havighurst claim that ". . . the culture of middle class Europeans and Americans probably exerts more severe pressure upon the young child—upon both his bodily processes and his emotional development—than does the culture of any other people in the world."[35] These writers claim to have evidence that children from the middle class, families whose patterns are the pace-setter for the Western world and increasingly for the whole world, suffer from this imposition. They may develop thumb sucking, nail biting, hay fever, asthma, and other manifestations. Possibly without sufficient proof, these writers imply that rural and urban conditions lead to entirely different personality structures. Some of the claims concerning the influence of early child training in respect to toilet training have been questioned.[36] The rural family has available, perhaps, greater opportunity to apply the sanction system than the urban family. Sanctions are applied to reward assistance in achieving the family's goals or to penalize failure in this respect. When the father must pay for hired labor at present rates, he and his son can easily see what the son contributes to the enterprise when he works effectively. Also, the mother who must buy food if the chickens and garden do not produce can see the contribution she and her daughter make to the home. In most urban situations it is more difficult to arrange reward sanctions according to contribution to the attainment of family goals.

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[34] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

[35] W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, 1947), p. 10.

Change agents have long recognized the importance of the sanction system in introducing change. Often the skeptical father has permitted the son to have a 4-H Club or Future Farmers of America project, such as a purebred calf or a plot for a special crop. Many changes in farm practices have resulted when the son's project demonstrated the value of the new methods.

Facilities. The social rank of a farm family is very closely related to its facilities, or the means of attaining its ends. Within each type of farming area a different pattern of enterprise exists, and the principal variations are the facilities, or the means employed in earning a living. In the Range-Livestock Areas, for example, the size of the ranch and the number of livestock are important. In the Dairy Areas, the quality and size of the herd and the general farm layout, including feeding and milk handling facilities, are important. In general, facilities and their use is the subject of farm management and we shall not go into it in detail here. We shall, however, make the claim that in attaining a given level of living with a given family-sized farm or ranch organization, the facilities available are not more important in the operation of the system than is the team work of the members in the various status-roles of the enterprise.

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[36] William H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (September, 1952), pp. 150 ff. See also W. H. Sewell, P. H. Mossen, and C. W. Harris, "Relationships Among Child Training Practices," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April, 1955), pp. 137-148.

Territoriality. We have discussed the important influence of the norms of culture dealing with the residence of pairs after marriage. Of course, kinship systems in which it is the custom of the wife to live with the family of the husband may be expected to differ in structure from those in which the husband goes to live with the wife's family. Both of these types may differ in structure from the family formed when the husband and wife, upon marriage, establish their own homestead separate from the families of orientation of both husband and wife. In the rural societies throughout the world, the most prevalent types are the patrilocal and the neolocal.

The effect of territoriality upon who will marry is of interest to sociologists. Even in highly mobile Western urban societies, parents may predict that most of their children will marry those they meet in their immediate or adjacent communities. In Branch County, Michigan, for example, 79 per cent of the pairs married between 1927 and 1937 lived within fifty miles of each other.[37] In two Minnesota counties, the comparable percentage was even higher, 93 per cent.[38] Kennedy found that 76 per cent of the marriages occurring in New Haven in 1940 were between pairs who lived within twenty blocks of each other; 36 per cent lived within five blocks.[39]

Originally in most rural societies, the individual "stayed put" spatially, married, and produced children whose grandparents lived not far distant, possibly even in the same house. Now, in the areas which have come under the influence of modern Western technology, two giant forces, one the occupational system and the other the family system, struggle ceaselessly to gain control of the individual. So compelling is the occupational force and so great the distances to which it dispatches its victims that now millions of children in these societies grow up without even knowing their grandparents. Other millions are almost completely out of contact with their immediate parents, brothers, and sisters.

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[37] H. Y. McClusky and A. Zander, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces,* Vol. XIX (1940), pp. 79-81.

[38] Donald Mitchell, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Carver and Scott Counties, Minnesota, as Compared with Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces,* Vol. XX (1941), pp. 256-259.

[39] R. Kennedy, "Pre-Marital Residential Propinquity and Ethnic Endogamy," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XLVIII (1943), pp. 580-584.

SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE FAMILY

Communication. Few social systems offer better opportunity for the study of social factors in communication than the family. In all societies, the elements we have just discussed are of vital importance to communication. Among the Navajo Indians, for example, the husband must not communicate with the mother-in-law as he does with others. In fact, he must turn away as soon as he learns of her presence near him. Generally throughout the world, different words and even ideas may be expressed within age and sex groupings which may not be expressed across these groupings. This restriction on interaction and communication appears to be a device provided by culture to prevent persons in status-roles between which there is tension from expressing their feelings in open conflict. In our own society, boys may tell jokes or use language which is inappropriate to use when their sisters are present. The husband and wife may discuss subjects and use expressions which are inappropriate with their younger children.

Joking relationships and joking subjects such as the mother-in-law joke are more closely associated with some status-roles in the family system than with others. All of these phenomena are the manifestations of potential stressful relations in the system involved, and demonstrate the impossibility in organized society for everyone to treat and to be treated alike. In the interest of effective attainment of its ends, each family system has developed certain norms which control communication between members in the various status-roles of the system. Also each family has certain experiences and related forms of communication not transferred to the outside.

In general, as rural families come under the influence of modern urban technological culture, the various social factors making for differentiation in communication between one pair of status-roles as compared with that between another is lessened. In these respects, there is considerable variation from class to class and group to group in rural as well as urban culture. Wives come to share the jokes and profanity of their husbands, and children may share certain aspects of the adult world of discourse at an earlier age. Whether this is because the various status-roles come to have more equal rank, or because the family is relatively less important in attaining individual goals and hence does not require these inhibitions, is not known. Also the equalizing and leveling effect of urbanization should not be overestimated. In no industrialized society are there no differences in the manner in which members in different status-roles within the family are expected to communicate with one another. Because of the different functions of the different status-roles, it is probable that these differences will always remain. No man can internalize all the experiences of a woman and vice-versa, and for this reason communication between mothers and daughters may be expected to be different than between fathers and sons. This, we predict, will remain true in cities where men may wash dishes or change diapers. In rural areas, where the differentiation in status-roles is greater, urbanization will probably tend toward, but not accomplish, equalization of status-roles.

Decision-making. One of the authors, after accompanying a rural sociological investigator on one of his visits, described decision-making in a Dutch orthodox family living in South Holland, Illinois, as follows: "After we finished the evening meal the father reached under the table, pulled out a Bible, and read a few verses while all listened in subdued silence. As he calmly slipped the Bible back in place, all heads were bowed, and a prayer was pronounced supplicating the Almighty to sustain and purify the family and us, the guests. Then there was a brief period of friendly discussion, involving events of the day and what would be done tomorrow. This ended abruptly when the father's gaze swept past all the children's eyes and moved with theirs to fasten on the clock with its hour hand at eight and minute hand at twelve. The eyes of the children came back to the father, then to us, the guests, as if to say, 'Does their being here make a difference?' No word was spoken. The father's gaze settled this question by moving toward the stairs and immediately every child rose, placed his chair under the table, said good-by and good night, and filed off upstairs to bed."[40]

There should be no question who was the chief decision-maker in this instance. Based upon patriarchal control, a pattern was articulated which is much more common in rural societies than in modern industrialized urban cultures. Throughout most of the rural peasant cultures of the world, the father or the oldest male most frequently wields the greatest power. As modern urban technology engulfs rural society, the mother and children may come to have more power and to play more important parts in decision-making in the family. But in no industrial society is the husband and father, insofar as he is a functional member of the family, not a decision-maker. The pattern and pressure of his occupation may make him almost a stranger to his family, but still in important matters such as where the family will live and what the occupational activity will be, his is the greatest influence. In fact, if the basic assumptions upon which we base our theory of social systems is correct, the effective articulation of the two basic systems, the family and occupational systems, requires that the husband and father make basic decisions. Since the factories, commercial establishments, and other bureaucracies and organizations of the Western world must be manned by family members, social rank in family systems and occupational systems must be coordinate. As a general pattern, either the man or the woman must "wear the pants" in both systems, otherwise decision-making tensions would develop which would disrupt one or the other system. If our assumptions are correct, since men and women cannot change places in the family in production of children, status of men and women are not likely to be equal, even in an industrial society.

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[40] Notes made by the senior author while supervising the field work which resulted in the publication: *Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois,* by L. S. Dodson. Social Research Report No. 16, Washington, D.C., BAE, USDA (1938).

Boundary maintenance. Waller has observed that the family "has two elements of strength, the one, that it is private, the other, that it is public, and from neither of these is the group outside altogether excluded."[41] Culture provides social systems, such as the family, with institutions which make it possible for outsiders to interact with at least some family members. The status-roles of the friend, the guest, the stranger, the outsider, and the host are all available to determine behavior within the situation. Literature[42] is full of instances whereby the family maintains its boundaries on the one hand, but at the same time acts out its function in the total society by maintaining standards of hospitality. Thus, in most societies, socialized individuals learn at an early age that it is not only impolite as an outsider to become embroiled in family squabbles, but is often unsafe. The family quarrelers may turn on the intruder, offering an example of boundary maintenance reflected in the proverb: "Blood is thicker than water." On the other hand, norms of hospitality which function to make larger groupings in society possible may require that a person, while in the home of the host, be treated with the utmost consideration even when his behavior is insulting, both parties knowing that once the guest leaves a struggle may ensue.

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[41] Willard Waller, *The Old Love and The New* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1930), pp. 106-107.

[42] See Charles Lamb, "A Bachelor's Complaint on the Behavior of Married People."

Perhaps no norms differ more from culture to culture than those which make possible boundary maintenance and hospitality, two apparently opposing processes. Obviously, such norms are of great importance to change agents attempting to introduce improved agricultural, health, and other practices. In some cultures, such as those in Latin America, it is difficult for outsiders to become intimate with families, a fact which is of utmost importance, since intimacy is usually necessary to effect the adoption of change. Tax writes, "A new means of making a living—a new crop, a new industry, or a new business—spreads first to relatives and neighbors, thus eventually becomes widespread in one community before it diffuses to a second. . . ."[43] For the underdeveloped areas of the world, most improved practices must be incorporated in the family. All social systems, and particularly the rural family, have boundary maintenance mechanisms. In most rural societies with solidary families, it goes without saying that boundary maintenance is strong. Change agents must expect resistance to change, particularly if the change is thought to threaten the solidarity of the family.

Social-cultural linkage. The role of the family as a change system has been very great throughout history. A revealing manner in which to weigh its importance in rural America would be through the analysis of the comparative impact upon the society of immigrants coming as family units as compared with immigrants coming as individuals. The family and social customs of every state in the United States have been affected by this type of social-cultural linkage. However, in terms of relative numbers or any other criterion, those coming as families have produced greater changes than those coming singly. In fact it is difficult to trace a single change in the basic family structure of the United States due to the thousands of Negroes from Africa who came without families or who were separated from their families. In view of the fact that the family systems in which the Negroes had lived differed so greatly from those in the areas to which they came, and in view of the large

[43] Tax, *et al., op. cit.,* p. 46.

numbers which came to this country, it would seem plausible to assume that had they come as families their influence even with their low social rank would have been greater. The fact that no apparent influence from African forms of the family were enduring supports our theory that the influence of single individuals apart from their families has less effect in social change than families as units. The experience in Haiti and Brazil, where more family unity was permitted and where African traits persist, seems also to support this view. Perhaps the most interesting description of social-cultural linkage of family systems is recorded in the literature describing the impact of Spanish and Portuguese family systems upon the Indians of Latin America. We suggest the following hypothesis concerning this particular linkage: Other things being equal, the larger the proportions of immigrants migrating as families from the mother country, the more completely the Iberian family institutions are now found in the new country. (Costa Rica and Eastern Bolivia readily illustrate this point.)

A CASE OF SOCIAL-CULTURAL LINKAGE

In the following case, the senior author reports an event in his youth which it is hoped will make the concepts we are using meaningful, and illustrate the process of social-cultural linkage. The italicized comments are intended to relate the events to the elements and processes involved in social-cultural linkage.

CRISIS IN HARVEST SEASON

My family lived on a farm in western Nebraska on the irrigated margins of the Range-Livestock and the Wheat Areas. One of the main crops was beets, and the events relevant to the case history occurred during the annual beet harvest.

Beet harvests were periods of strenuous and continuous work against time—against the impending bitter cold weather which would freeze the beets in and prevent even the best beet lifter from pulling them. The general pattern was for us children to stay out of school to help in the harvest, and extra hands were also hired. Father ran the beet puller, and sometimes when he was ahead of the toppers he helped with the hauling. Mother and the younger children were toppers who knocked the dirt off the beets by hitting them together, then cut the tops off, and threw the beets into neat piles for the haulers. When I was about twelve I joined the three hired hands as a hauler. The haulers loaded the beets into horse-drawn wagons and drove them three miles to the nearest railroad where they were dumped into railroad cars from a beet dump. [*The status-roles which came into play in the family beet harvesting operations were the toppers, haulers, and a puller. The power structure, including the authority and influence patterns, was somewhat complicated as will be indicated by the following.*]

The hired men called father the boss, and once when father asked me to tell the hired men what to do, something which he did fairly frequently, one hired man said, "When I took this job I didn't know I'd be takin' orders from a kid." [*The father, not the rest of the family, had authority to give orders.*]

Work started early, and it was always difficult for father to get the hired men up early enough. The three hired men and my younger brother and I slept in the upstairs which was one large room over the rest of the house. The other members of the family slept downstairs. At 4:00 each morning father got up, made the fire in the cook stove, and lit the lanterns. Before going to the barn to start feeding, currying, and harnessing the horses and milking the cows, he always tried to awaken the men. He yelled loudly enough to be heard a quarter of a mile, "Charles, get up! It's time to do the chores!" Of course, this implied that everyone was supposed to get up. [*Communication was indirect.*]

One time after father yelled, Slim from Wyoming yawned and said, "Charlie, does your dad think them beets is alive an' gonna run off if we don't sneak up on 'em in the dark?"

One year just after World War I, when I was fourteen, a crisis arose. That fall the banker and one of the farmer members of the board of directors of the bank, a man of high *social rank* in the community and highly respected, paid a visit to the farm. They recommended to father that he borrow money on a loan on the farm and buy feeder stock to fatten during the winter. Father had never fed cattle or sheep before, but he knew the advantages of the operation in terms of the manure for the beet land. However, father was not aware of the availability of credit for the feeding operation. The banker explained how much money could be made by feeding out the sheep on the beet tops, alfalfa hay, and corn grown on the farm. After the visitors left, father visited several farmers who had fed stock previously, talked it over with mother, and decided to take the banker's advice. He would borrow the money, sign the mortgage on the farm and buy about 3,000 sheep to feed out.

[*Here the bank was the principal change agent and the family was the change target. What we have called social-cultural linkage was achieved when the money was borrowed. As in the case of most family operations, the facilities are often difficult to differentiate from the ends or objectives. The various facilities are interrelated. A loan would increase soil fertility through the purchase of livestock.*

[*The banker's tactics involved initiation of the plan with the chief decision-maker of the family, the father, and relating the ends of the proposed change to the ends of the family and the bank. Part of the strategy involved having the farmer board member, whom father respected, present when the banker talked. Positive sanctions or rewards such as money income, fertilizer to bring increased yields, and better returns for the other products of the farm as well as use of the facilities of the farm during the idle winter months were stressed. The decision-making involved the judgment of the banker which the father respected, the advice of the farmers whom the father visited, and finally the mother. She said the decision was not hers, but father would probably not have decided as he did if she had opposed him, because she had influence in such matters. So far as the bank was concerned, the processes of legitimation and execution were one. When father signed the mortgage to borrow the money, the action was legitimized. The change system (the bank) and the target system (the family) had merged. Social-cultural linkage was accomplished. This merging of systems gave legal basis for new status-roles—father became a debtor, the banker his creditor. Later, when the depression came on, we were all made to feel our status-roles as debtors. Our social rank in the community was affected adversely.*]

The decision to buy sheep led father to go south to Texas to buy the sheep in the middle of the beet harvest. Father doubted the wisdom of being away during the harvest for the two or three weeks the trip would require. The beet harvest was the most important farm operation in the region, and the beets must be harvested before the winter which comes rapidly and severely on the northern great plains.

After father left, mother became the boss, but I at fourteen was carrying part of the supervisory load. Mother sent me to carry instructions and to find out how things were going at the various points of activity. The general work pattern of everyone was the same after father left, except that before going he hired another man to run the beet puller. Also, this year he had hired a different set of beet haulers than he had the year before. The informal leader of the men was a young Russian German from the area named Jake. [*Jake had* *non-authoritarian influence over the men.*] Jake was always saying, "Women should not wear the pants" and claiming that if he ever married he would be the boss of his family. The others were also single and from the cattle country of Wyoming.

Things went all right for a few days. Then the haulers began failing to get up when mother called them. This put the workers in the field an hour late, but mother was willing to put up with it since father should be home before too long.

It was customary Saturday nights, when the men were paid, for the boss' family to drive them into a neighboring town. The first Saturday after father left, mother had me drive the men to town in the Ford. I went to the movie, and when I came back to the place where I had parked the car it was missing. I waited around a long time, then went home very much worried. Mother was terribly upset and none of the family could sleep the rest of the night. About four o'clock in the morning Jake and the men came driving the car home. They had taken girls out and had been drinking. After mother sized up the situation, she fired all the men and they left without going to bed. [*As was common among farm families in the area, our family was what may be called Puritanical. No one drank or smoked. Thus this drinking as well as the stealing of the car violated the family norms. The car was something the hired men at this period were never permitted to use. Mother used negative sanctions by discharging them. Although the men seemed to resent her authority previously, they had no doubt of her right to discharge them, thus demonstrating that her authority to discharge was legitimate. Obviously, discharging the men was a boundary maintenance reaction.*]

During the next days we feverishly hunted for help up and down the valley and learned that there were no haulers available anywhere. We became frantic, with winter coming and most of our crop still in the field. Mother called her brother, Frank, who ran a farm similar to ours three miles away. He could not spare any of his help. Knowing that the men mother had fired were still in town unemployed and that if we didn't push ahead with our harvest we would lose our crop, he advised mother to rehire the men. Mother resisted. She said she thought this would be practically immoral, since it would make the men think that their actions of drinking and stealing were all right. However, she finally gave in on condition Uncle Frank would give the men a "talking to."

Uncle Frank, instead of bawling the men out as mother expected him to, told them, unknown to her, that they had a responsibility to get the beets out and that this was about the best place to work in the valley. They couldn't get better pay or food and the hauls were so long that the work wasn't hard. [*Allocation of rewards, positive not negative sanctions, were stressed.*]

The men complained about taking orders from "women" and "kids." Uncle Frank told them he'd drop over as often as he could to supervise the work, and this seemed to satisfy them. [*In other words, he provided more legitimate authority.*] Actually Uncle Frank lived too far away to get over often. [*Here spatial arrangements or territoriality were important in preventing his authority from functioning.*] No real trouble developed, but I was always aware of the fact that the men thought neither mother nor I had the right to direct them.

After father returned, everyone engaged in the big sheep drive from town to our farm. Even the Wyoming cowhands who usually had nothing but curses for sheep and sheep herders enthusiastically helped get the sheep out to the farm. After we listened to father's tall tales of Texas ranching, the beet harvest got under way in earnest. Everything ran quite smoothly, and all the beets were out before the ground froze solid.

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Informal Social Systems

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, NETWORKS OF INFORMAL social relations play an important role in the lives of people. Informal groupings such as the play group and congeniality groupings are important to personality formation and, outside the family, often supply the security necessary to normal mental and emotional development.

DEFINITION OF INFORMAL GROUPS

Before proceeding with the discussion of informal social systems, it is appropriate to make explicit the meaning of clique groupings. In the literature dealing with informal social systems, terms such as "informal," "congeniality," "friendship," "mutual-aid," and "clique" groups are often used interchangeably. For our purposes, no distinction will be made between them. The group, as used in this chapter, is most often a nonkinship grouping and is defined in the same way as Warner and his associates use the term "clique." To quote Warner:

> . . . membership . . . may vary in numbers from two to thirty or more people. . . . When it approaches the latter figure in size,

> it ordinarily breaks up into several smaller cliques. The clique is an informal association because it has no explicit rules of entrance, of membership, or of exit. The clique does have very exacting rules of custom which govern the relations of its members. . . . Members speak of others in the community as outsiders. Feelings of unity may even reach such a pitch of intensity that a clique member can and does act in ways contrary to the best interests of his own family. . . . Its activities vary according to the social position and relative wealth of its members.[1]

The informal group is found everywhere as an essential part of social organization. Despite its omnipresence, the informal group has been neglected until recently, especially by the rural sociologist. The family and the neighborhood in rural areas have been studied extensively, but with few exceptions the informal groups of friends and neighbors have been overlooked.[2]

While small friendship groups of many kinds may be found in rural areas today, the mutual-aid groups of the past furnish excellent examples of informal group behavior. Although mutual-aid activities in rural areas have not totally disappeared, they have certainly declined in importance. The "threshing ring," the "apple-butter boil," "the butchering exchange," and the "husking bee" as mutual-aid activities of friends and neighbors are no longer essential ingredients in the social life of American farm communities. In their place are informal clique groupings organized to a large extent on the basis of mutual interest, similarity of age, and social class.

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[1] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 110-111.

[2] For notable exceptions see: Eugene A. Wilkening, "Acceptance of Innovations in Farming," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1950); Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1943); Herbert F. Lionberger, "The Diffusion of Farm and Home Information as an Area of Sociological Research," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1952); Herbert F. Lionberger, "Some Characteristics of Farm Operators Sought as Sources of Farm Information in a Missouri Community," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1953); and Eugene A. Wilkening, *Acceptance of Improved Farm Practices* (Raleigh: North Carolina Technical Bulletin 98; May, 1952); Report of the Subcommittee on the Diffusion and Adoption of Farm Practices, the Rural Sociological Society, *Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices* (Lexington: Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station; June, 1952); see also earlier studies reported in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945).

IMPORTANCE, FUNCTION, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Importance of informal groups. As suggested previously, informal groups may be found everywhere—in all societies, in urban areas, and in rural areas. They are found among all age groups and among all social classes. They may be found within formal organizations, often controlling and shaping important policies and decisions.

It is essential for the action agent or anyone else interested in understanding rural social organization to identify and comprehend the nature and function of informal groupings. More frequently than not, the power to make community decisions rests with a small, informal clique group and not with the community as a whole—or even with a formal organization from which the "official" decision may emanate. Those who wish to introduce change or influence others through their leaders need to observe carefully the patterns of interaction on the part of small groups.

In order to illustrate some of these considerations, Figure 11 is presented. This sociogram shows family visiting for all families in a neighborhood, that of White Plains, Maryland.[3] Each family is represented by a circle, the size of which varies according to the number of visits received, and is placed on the sociogram in approximately correct geographical relation one to the other. Of considerable importance is the fact that visits inside the neighborhood are distinguished from those to the trade-center community and those outside the neighborhood.

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[3] Charles P. Loomis, Douglas Ensminger, and Jane Woolley, "Neighborhoods and Communities in County Planning," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (1941), pp. 339-341. Also published in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1950), Chapter 3. In the latter, the remarkable history of this sociogram, first used by Loomis, Ensminger, and Woolley is documented. Most rural sociology texts use it with incorrect acknowledgment.

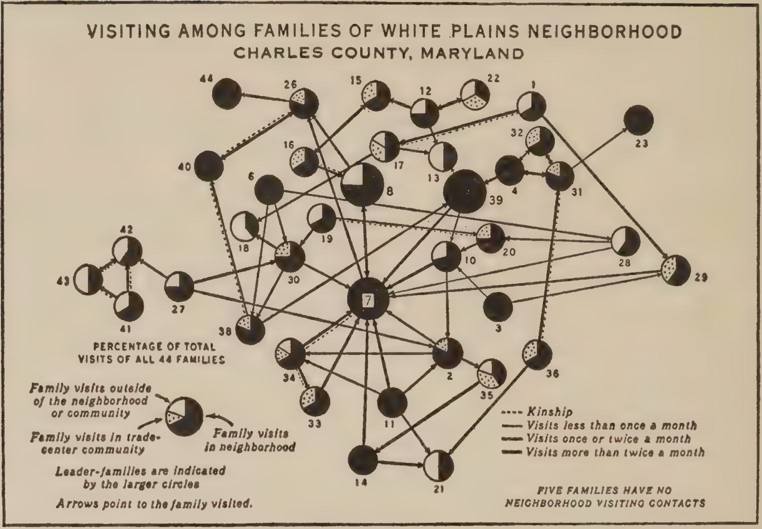
VISITING AMONG FAMILIES OF WHITE PLAINS NEIGHBORHOOD
CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND
44
26
15
12
22
1
32
23
16
17
13
40
6
8
39
4
31
42
18
19
20
28
43
30
10
29
27
7
41
38
3
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VISITS OF ALL 44 FAMILIES
34
2
36
Family visits outside of the neighborhood or community
35
Family visits in trade-center community
Family visits in neighborhood
33
11
---- Kinship
— Visits less than once a month
— Visits once or twice a month
— Visits more than twice a month
Leader-families are indicated by the larger circles
14
21
Arrows point to the family visited.
FIVE FAMILIES HAVE NO NEIGHBORHOOD VISITING CONTACTS

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Figure 11. Visiting Among Families in White Plains Neighborhood, Charles County, Maryland. (Source: C. P. Loomis, Douglas Ensminger, and Jane Woolley, "Neighborhoods and Communities in County Planning." *Rural Sociology,* Vol. VI, No. 4, 1941, p. 340.)

Kinship visiting may also be distinguished from non-kinship visiting.

The central position of family number 7, the family having the largest number of visiting contacts, is dramatized, giving the possible impression that the White Plains neighborhood is a single clique group. This is not the case, however, as careful inspection will reveal. Approximately one-third of all visiting contacts on the part of the forty-four white families in White Plains were outside the neighborhood. One-eighth of the outside contacts were within the trade-center community comprising White Plains and one-fifth were visits to families in Baltimore or Washington, both of which are at least twenty-five miles away. Five families in the neighborhood reported no visiting within the neighborhood.

The largest circles shown in Figure 11 represent families, the heads of which the farmers in the neighborhood named most frequently as those most capable of representing them in agricultural, marketing, and public affairs. The heads of families 7, 39, and 8 are prestige leaders, and families 7 and 39 are also "grass roots" leaders. They have few, if any, visiting contacts outside the neighborhood, but are popular within the neighborhood. They occupy key positions in the interaction and communication systems of the White Plains neighborhood.

Functions of informal groups. Among the essential attributes of informal groups such as those we have been discussing is their intimacy. For clique group members, association is often an end in itself. In many clique groups, association is based upon the joy of association and "emotional" inclination to be together, not upon a rational evaluation of the values to be derived from association. In short, the clique group is a primary group ranking next to the family and kinship groupings in degree of intimacy.

From this basic character of the informal group stems one of its most important functions, namely, that of providing socialization and providing orientation for the individual. As Cooley remarks: "Primary groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and completest experience of social unity, and also in the sense that they do not change in the same degree as more elaborate relations, but form a comparatively permanent source out of which the latter are ever springing."[4]

It is within an atmosphere of intimacy and confidence that the individual acquires his attitudes, models his behavior, and gains his impressions of the social world about him. While the family assumes this function for the young and may continue it as family members grow older, the clique group assumes this function alongside the family, especially in the play group, sometimes reinforcing and sometimes challenging the authority of the family. It is probable, although evidence is incomplete, that the informal groups, during and after adolescence, play a more important role in American society than the kinship groups.

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[4] Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 27.

The importance of friendship groups in the changing of farm practices is suggested in a study of the Cooperative Extension Service in Vermont. In this study it was found that farmers claimed they had been most influenced in changing practices by farm papers and magazines, the county agent, friends, and neighbors, in the order named.[5]

A Social Science Research Council survey[6] reported that 25 per cent of the adult book users got their books from the public libraries, 20 per cent from friends, 35 per cent from purchase and home libraries, about 8 per cent from rental libraries, and about 10 per cent from other sources. A study of Michigan cooperatives by the Social Research Service of Michigan State University involving a sample of 500 farmers revealed that one-half of the member informants stated that their "farmer friends and farmer relatives in this community [are] all members of co-ops." Moreover, 29 per cent stated that within the past year they had tried to interest non-member friends in joining a co-op.[7] Kolb and Marshall[8] found that families which exchange work tend to visit one another. Those who exchange work also tend to be related, to have the same nationality background, and to share the same church affiliation.

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[5] *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One: Farmers and the Extension Service,* Washington, D.C.: U.S.D.A. (July, 1947), pp. 20 and 30.

[6] Survey Research Center, *The Public Library and the People* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan; April, 1948).

[7] Duane Gibson, *Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them, Membership Relations of Michigan Farmers' Cooperatives,* A Report by the Social Research Service of Michigan State University to the annual meeting of the Michigan Association of Farmers' Cooperatives (October 30, 1947).

[8] John H. Kolb and Douglas G. Marshall, *Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society* (Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 154; November, 1944), p. 24. Norman Kaplan, "Reference Groups and Voting: The Comparative Significance of Intimate Subgroups and Population Categories," *Abstracts of Papers Delivered at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society* (New York: American Sociological Society, 1955), p. 35. See also C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), Chapter 5, for other examples of the importance of clique groups.

In the words of Dubin, "people develop informal patterns of interaction in order to do the work required of them most expeditiously." Although the writer was speaking primarily of informal relations in bureaucratic organizations, especially in industry, this function of clique groupings is applicable to a wide variety of informal groupings. To quote further: "An organization would soon break down if everybody in it did only what his formal job descriptions called for, and did it 'according to the book.' "[9]

In a social order becoming increasingly bureaucratic, it would seem that one of the important functions served by informal patterns of association is that of minimizing frustration created by working within rigid, formal organizations. In such an atmosphere, the informal group may well provide a measure of security to the individual. The informal structure may, in many instances, support and buttress the formal structure and value orientation. In such cases, morale may be said to be high. Again, the informal structure may be at odds with the formal structure, in which case morale is likely to be low. In the latter case, it would seem that one of the functions of the informal group is that of altering and modifying the formal structure and value orientation. In fact, the cost in terms of human energy of operating formal organizations such as community or health councils is so great, that members sometimes create or improve informal organizations so that the larger formal organizations are not necessary. Often the death of a health or community council or an organization for fund-raising means that informal contacts and communication have become sufficient to carry on functions which formal organizations carried on at a higher cost of human energy.[10]

Characteristics of members of informal groups. Although clique groups are diverse, it may be said that members of a given clique or informal group are usually similar in that they belong to the same sub-group or follow the same life style. Several studies[11] support this statement. In resettlement groups, it was found that associating families resemble each other in economic status, as represented by total value of family living. Interacting families also are similar in money spent for social activities, recreation, reading material, and clothing. They are also similar in the number of religious and non-religious organizations in which they participate. Other studies show that the membership of clique groups is often age-graded, composed only of males or females, and similar in ethnic or racial composition. Still other studies show distance to be an important element, clique members generally coming from the same locality. While special-purpose informal groups having heterogeneous membership exist, the nature and function of most clique groups militate against great heterogeneity among the membership. In rural and urban resettlement, both propinquity (closeness of residence) and similarity of backgrounds and interests were found to be determining factors in the establishment and maintenance of informal relationships. Thus, Loomis[12] and Liell[13] found that for several years after first arrival the proportions of families which visited and associated with next-door neighbors or families living close by gradually declined as families became acquainted with other families in the community. However, in all newly-formed communities studied, a large proportion of the associations are with families living close by—the more homogeneous the new community, the larger the proportions of associates who live adjacent will be, and the longer the propinquous relationships will tend to persist. Desires to associate with persons of similar religion, social class, former acquaintanceship, and many other factors result in the scattering of members of informal groups in modern mobile society.[14]

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[9] Robert Dubin, *Human Relations in Administration* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 57.

[10] Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, *Community Involvement* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).

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[11] See Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 153; also C. P. Loomis, "Visiting Patterns and Miscegenation at Oxapampa, Peru," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (1944), p. 68; and Dale Faunce and J. Allan Beegle, "An Experiment in Decreasing Cleavages in a Relatively Homogeneous Group of Rural Youth Members of the Michigan Junior Farm Bureau," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (1948), pp. 207 ff.

[12] Loomis, *Studies in Rural Social Organization, op. cit.*, pp. 41-123.

[13] John T. Liell, "Propinquity and Selectivity as Processes of Informal Community Organization: A Study in the Formation of Levittown, New York," paper presented at the 1955 Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

METHODS OF DISCOVERING INFORMAL GROUPS

Two methods are most commonly used in discovering the existence and structure of informal groupings. The first is that of observation. Ideally, all interactions between members over a long period of time should be observed. Furthermore, some judgment of the quality of the interaction often needs to be made. The observation method is often slow, and many observers are insufficiently trained to determine adequately the essential nature of the clique group structure.

The most commonly used method of determining clique structure is by means of the sociometric test. The population under observation is requested to answer certain questions designed to reveal the nature and quality of interaction patterns. For example, informants may list in the order of frequency the persons with whom they visit, including data concerning the nature of friendship ties. In addition, certain background data such as age, sex, religion, and income are often requested. Sociometric data may be secured through personal interviews or on questionnaires that the participants fill out themselves. The results of such a sociometric test are then analyzed. A sociogram, such as Figure 11, is often constructed in order to assist in visualizing the nature of the informal groupings in the population being studied.

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[14] Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, *Social Pressures in Informal Groups,* A Study of Human Factors in Housing (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 58; Theodore Caplow and Robert Forman, "Neighborhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 15, No. 3 (1950), pp. 357-366; and W. H. Form, "Stratification in Low and Middle Income Housing," *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2 (1951), pp. 109-131.

EXAMPLES OF INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Two of the best documented examples of informal social systems are the *cuaird*, or "old fellows" clique in rural Ireland and the Norton Street Gang, composed of second generation Italians in Boston. We shall refer to these groups as we discuss the elements and processes of informal groupings. In order that the reader may understand the settings in which these two informal groups function, a brief description is necessary.

Old fellows clique in rural Ireland.[15] In the rural communities of Ireland, it is common for the older men to meet more or less regularly at homes in informal groups. The meetings are called by different names in different parts of the country, but congeniality is one of the prime purposes everywhere. "For instance, the 'old fellows' went out on *cuaird*, as they called their visiting, to join one another. They followed a deep-set regular habit. As they phrased it 'a man would feel lonely if he didn't go out on *cuaird*.' "[16]

The seven men in the *cuaird* described by Arensberg have nicknames related to their roles, such as judge, prosecutor, and senator. The younger men do not come to *cuaird* until they attain the responsibility of operating a farm. Younger men attaining a place in the old men's group feel insecure at first. Prior to attaining full status in the old men's group, the younger men usually exhibit behavior common to marginal persons who are neither completely of the one group or of the other. Cliques such as these furnish the basis of some of the formal organization in Ireland. In the political sphere, for example, "It is here . . . that the community reaches unanimity in party voting."[17]

The Norton Street Gang.[18] This gang, studied in the depression of the thirties, was composed of young men from twenty to twenty-nine years of age. The hangout of the Norton gang was the streets of East Boston. This gang or clique was active in athletics, especially bowling, took girls out on dates, and engaged in political campaigns. The area in which the gang operated had been first inhabited by people of English origin and later by the Irish. The ethnic groups moved away to other locations as they bettered their social and economic conditions, and the area when studied was inhabited by Italians. The young men habitually spent little time at home. Most of their time was spent at work or hanging out with the gangs. Since the depression prevented them from working, most of their time was spent with the gang.

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[15] Conrad M. Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman, An Anthropological Study* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 125 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[18] William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

In the following pages we will often contrast the Norton Street clique with that of the "old fellows" in Ireland. Cliques of the Norton Street type are less common in rural than in urban areas. In rural areas, cliques often tend to be extensions of the family.

One of the best studies of rural informal groupings known to the authors is the study of the Mexican youth peer group by Nall and Williams.[19] These groupings are found in San Rafael in Vera Cruz, Mexico, and are apparently common throughout Latin America. Unlike informal groups such as the Norton Street Gang, these peer groups do not give the individual a system of personal security and social identification. Personal security and social identification are principally derived from the family and kin group, although in terms of the personal security system the relationship of *amigo intimo* is also important. The main function of these informal peer groups is to provide a social context for participation in expressive behavior.

ELEMENTS OF INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Ends and objectives. An important end of the old men's clique in Ireland, viewed from the standpoint of the individual, is that of congeniality. One would feel lonely if he did not attend. The function, viewed by one interested in its relation to the community, is reflected by one of the members who says: "There is never any bad blood between any of the village, and one reason is because we talk things over." According to Arensberg, "The community reaches agreement upon its internal affairs, too, through the old men's discussions. It is in just this type of activity that one can at last put one's finger upon that nebulous force among men: public opinion."[20]

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[19] Frank C. Nall and E. S. Williams, "A Systematic Model of a Mexican Youth Peer Group," unpublished paper, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1955.

Any change agent attempting to improve agriculture, health, or other services in Ireland would certainly have to take his case before the jury of the old fellows. Although the informal groupings which pass final judgment may be younger or differently composed in other societies, sooner or later the recommendations of the change agent will come before similar groupings. One function of the informal group is that of assisting the individual in judging that which is new.

The ends of the Norton Street Gang in Boston may be different in specifics from those of the old fellows in rural Ireland. However, both provide their members with fellowship. Both render mutual aid and provide the individual with a means of relating himself to his group members and to outsiders. In the Norton Street Gang, opportunity for athletic participation, mutual aid, and economic and social assistance were among the expressed ends of the group. Members would spend their last cent to help other members close to them.

The real ends of informal groupings may be overlooked if one does not investigate the meaning in terms of interpersonal relations. On one occasion Doc, the leader of the Norton Street Gang, asked for help from Whyte, who had become one of the gang as a participant observer. Whyte replied that Doc had done so much for him that he was glad to be able to do something in return. Doc objected, saying, "I don't want it that way. I want you to do this for me because you're my friend. That's all." For the Nortons, such relations were extremely important.

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[20] Arensberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 and 139.

They were poor and unimportant people. Insofar as they were to have the advantages of the larger society, they had to come in contact with the important people who ran this society. Little people cannot do this directly. Cliques function as intermediaries whereby this linkage is made. As Whyte says, "The interaction of big shots, intermediaries, and little guys build up a hierarchy of personal relations based upon a system of reciprocal obligations."[21]

In the consideration of the ends of informal groups, perhaps it will be more meaningful if the reader asks himself, "With whom would I enjoy associating?"[22] When answering this question, the groups and the relationships one anticipates having are often ends in and of themselves. Normal individuals need the interaction of others, and in situations where strangers are thrown together—on the American frontier, in resettlement projects, or in new army encampments—considerable activity involves finding people with whom one is congenial. In such situations there is relatively little effort at first to "keep people in their places," relatively little "snubbing" and other activities designed to keep established congeniality groups intact. Before long, however, cliques form, and many become less outgoing and more satisfied with their companions. In short, through a process of selection and elimination, most people become members of congeniality or clique groups. Usually these groupings are formed more or less spontaneously in the normal course of events, and few people set out to build friendship groups for themselves. They are built out of the interaction one engages in during his day to day activities.

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[21] Whyte, *Street Corner Society, op. cit.*, p. 272.

[22] Jennings has described the groupings which would form on this basis as "psyche-groups." Psyche-groups "most want to express and share and enjoy with others who would view it [the self] with understanding and cherish it *just as it is.*" (Italics added.) For her the socio-group, on the other hand, imposes requirements on the individual for this or that objective which the group may have. See Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation—A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations*, Second Edition (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), pp. 275-276. Actually the psyche-group and the socio-group may be composed of the same members. The independent discovery of Bales that successful small groups almost always have two types of leaders, namely, the "task or instrumental leader" who is the more powerful and a "popular or expressive leader" who will lose his popularity if he attempts to assume the task role is important here.

It should not be assumed that informal social systems do not have ends and objectives other than congeniality. Generally such groups protect members from anxiety, loneliness, lack of recognition, and unfavorable response, as well as extend all kinds of mutual assistance to members. They may engage in production or trade and still remain relatively informal. Many of the protective societies on the frontier, farm organizations, and business concerns began as informal groupings. But as the informal congeniality groups attempt to achieve objectives, they become more formal. They may develop specific status-roles for the members, elect officers, and discuss policy. At this point, they usually become formal organizations. According to Doddy, membership of informal groups is determined through mutual attraction of personalities, and an organization grows out of the need to plan and execute group activities. As soon as several functions must be coordinated, the fixing of responsibility becomes necessary. There is, Doddy believes, a direct relationship between the nature and scope of group activities and the organizational structure.[23] Thus, if an informal group of farmers who came together by chance were to attempt to build a barn or organize to fight a fire, it is very dubious that the group would remain informal. However, formality and informality as we use the terms are relative concepts.

Norms. Merely because informal groups do not have written constitutions, procedure manuals, bylaws, and similar devices to guide action, does not mean that they are without norms. On the contrary, informal groups may be singularly ruthless in enforcing agreed upon or accepted ways of behaving.

In the old fellows clique in Ireland great emphasis is placed upon deliberation and decision, and the norms of the group favor conformity. When one of the clique members, in a discussion with Arensberg, expressed political views differing from those of the group, he made Arensberg promise not to let these deviant views be known. Since the old fellows deliberate, the norms permit no one to belong who cannot control his temper while engaging in the process. For example, O'Brien who otherwise is eligible, "is a man of moody temper, given to gusts of anger. He goes out very little at all; when he does it is to the young men's gambles."[24] The norms of the old fellows clique are different from those of the young fellows. The latter ". . . gather in at Jack Roche's and they laugh and joke and play cards; they talk about the next gamble and the next dance, and that is all they know."[25]

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[23] Hurley H. Doddy, *Informal Groups and the Community, A Research Study of the Institute of Adult Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), pp. 14-15.

The Norton Street Gang also has its norms. As will be indicated in the discussion of social rank, those who conform most closely to the norms of the clique have the highest rank. The norms prescribe how the members participate and reciprocate. Great emphasis is placed upon living up to personal obligations, and members are required to help friends when possible. The leaders always give more money to other members than they receive from members. The norms of cliques such as the Norton Street Gang require that men "make" girls if they can. Perhaps more important for our immediate discussion, corner boys are not permitted to have sexual intercourse with relatives of other members.[26] A corner boy would not usually go steady or marry a girl who was "no good"; if he did, he would be considered a "sucker."

The description of the norms of the Norton Street Gang provides some of the best materials on norms as used in the social psychological sense. The organization of the Norton Street clique is oriented to achievement, so that those members who are the best athletes or have the most money are in an advantageous position. Leaders generally direct their activities to those things in which they excel and away from situations in which they would be at a disadvantage. When participation is required in an activity in which the leader may be inferior, the group finds its own way of retaining its leadership structure. When bowling was a sign of distinction in the Norton Street Gang, high performance of top-ranking members was accepted as natural and was encouraged. This was not the case for high performance of members with low standing in the groups. When their performance surpassed that of high-ranking members, it was said to be due to luck or some chance factor. Sherif, who has specialized in this aspect of social norms, summarizes Whyte's data as follows: "Take the case of Frank, a member with rather low standing. Frank was a good player in his own right, yet 'he made a miserable showing' while playing in his own group. In Frank's words: 'I can't seem to play ball when I am playing with fellows I know, like that bunch. I do much better when I am playing for the Stanley A. C. against some team in Dexter, Westland, or out of town.' "[27] Whyte concludes as follows: "Accustomed to filling an inferior position, Frank was unable to star even in his favorite sport when he was competing against members of his own group."[28] In the Norton Street Gang, leadership and followership patterns became so firmly fixed that it was difficult for some members to dissociate themselves from these status-roles and rankings, regardless of the nature of the situation.

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[24] Arensberg, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

[26] W. F. Whyte, "A Slum Sex Code," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIX (1943), pp. 24-31.

Attitudes as related to ends and norms. It is our thesis that the chief components of social attitudes are the internalized ends and norms of the group. Next to the family, the informal social systems or reference groups are the most important sources of attitudes of individuals. As Sherif states, ". . . it may be safe to assert that the formation and effectiveness of attitudes cannot be properly accounted for without relating them to their group matrix. . . ."[29]

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[27] Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 128. See also Chapters 6 and 7.

[28] Whyte, *Street Corner Society, op. cit.*, p. 19.

[29] Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

In a study of the spread of "planted rumor" involving informal groups, the conclusion was reached that "Groups can induce members to work hard or to be lazy, to vote democratic or not to vote at all, to dress for dinner or to lead a 'bohemian life.' . . ." To quote further, "An opinion or attitude which is not reinforced by others of the same opinion will become unstable generally. . . . The 'reality' which settles the question in the case of social attitudes and opinions is the degree to which others with whom one is in communication are believed to share these same attitudes and opinions."[30]

Important for our discussion are the differences in rural and urban attitudes. Such differences are to be explained by differences of reference groups in rural and urban society. In fact, in the United States the reference groups of well-to-do farmers and businessmen impose similar attitudes concerning many aspects of life. Despite a general trend in the direction of greater similarity in the attitudes of rural and urban people, several differences in basic attitudes may be said to persist. Needless to say, there are differences of considerable magnitude between the attitudes held by rural people of different class levels, regions, and periods of time.

Hour for hour, less activity in cities is moral or integrative than in the rural communities. Social systems of rural people place more emphasis on religious or moral activity. This is especially true in the underdeveloped areas of the world. In the United States, the relatively more sacred attitudes of rural people are objectively manifested in greater interest in religious activities, and in greater interest in religious programs and religious music over the radio.[31]

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[30] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 168-169.

[31] Carl C. Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 504, and *Attitudes of Rural People Toward Radio Service* (Washington: U.S.D.A., Bur. Agr. Econ.; January, 1946), pp. 12 and 69. Factory workers in cities with rural backgrounds have been found to work harder and to be more satisfied with their wages than those with urban backgrounds. Charles N. Lebeaux, "The Effects of Rural Background on Behavior in the Factory," *Abstracts of Papers Delivered at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Status-roles. A discussion of status-roles in informal social systems brings to light many differences in formal and informal groups. By definition, informal groups do not have a specific set of status-roles which are articulated in action as in the case of typical formal organizations. Nevertheless, it is one of the prime rules of group life that, in order to achieve group goals, not all people can do the same thing simultaneously. There must be differentiation. Therefore, expectancy patterns grow up for members of informal groups, and these may combine group needs and the characteristics of the individual personality. From the following discussion it is evident that the personalities of individuals are more important in the expectancy patterns of informal groups than of formal groups.

In the field of group dynamics, terminology and ideals for group behavior, especially for discussion groups, have been developed. We cannot go into detail here, but leaders in the field of group dynamics maintain that, for most effective group effort in many situations, different individuals should function in various roles, so that all feel more or less as equals in the process. For example, the following are specified as possible task roles: activity initiator, information seeker, opinion seeker, information giver, opinion giver, elaborator, coordinator, summarizer, and feasibility tester. As group-maintenance roles, the following are suggested: encourager, gate keeper, standard setter, follower, expresser of group feeling, and tension reliever. As being either task or group-maintenance roles, the following are suggested: evaluator, diagnostician, consensus tester, and mediator. The following roles are suggested as non-functional: aggressor, blocker, self-confessor, competitor, sympathy seeker, special pleader, playboy, recognition seeker, and withdrawer.[32]

The following discussion of the old fellows clique will indicate that informal groups which have been in existence for considerable periods of time do not rotate status-roles and are not leaderless.[33] Normally, the needs of groups, the needs of the individual members, and the individual competencies are woven into a system in such a manner that it is far from being leaderless and non-rotating roles usually become established. Note that in the following discussion of status-roles, we treat territoriality as we describe the status-roles. In many informal groupings, as in formal groupings such as athletic teams, the spatial relationships of the members are important. They may imply the rank of the member, or they may indicate his access to others.

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[32] "Kinds of Member Roles," *Adult Leadership,* Vol. 1, No. 8 (January, 1953), pp. 17-23. This issue features member roles, and a bibliography is provided. The following were among those who participated in the preparation of the issue or prepared pertinent material on roles: Jack R. Gibb, Malcolm S. Knowles, Kenneth D. Benne, Ronald Lippitt, Herbert A. Thelen, Leland P. Bradford, Paul Sheets, Paul L. Essert, D. M. Hall, and Norman R. F. Maier.

Status-roles in the old fellows clique. The parts played by members are well portrayed in the following excerpt:

> Soon after supper they begin to gather . . . stride across the threshold with a "God bless all here" and take their accustomed places.
>
> O'Donoghue has the place of honour. He sits in the chair to the right of the fire . . . is the "judge" in this gathering. . . . He is regarded as a wise man. All must defer to his opinions. . . . He initiates nothing. . . . He rarely generalizes; when he does, his theme is the "old times."
>
> Silent as this shrewd old man is, his is the central position in the group. Comments and questions are phrased through him. He takes the proffered verbal bit and passes it on among the others. And, when agreement is finally reached, it is his quiet "so it is" that settles the point for good.
>
> O'Halloran sits on the hob across the hearth from him. He is the "drawer down." . . . O'Halloran seeks information. Most frequently it is he who brings up points of interest and questions of the day. These he addresses to O'Donoghue, who passes them on for general discussion. Like all the rest of them, he is most at home in finding apt illustrations in definite, precisely told anecdotes. But his chief role is to "draw the talk down" to common levels of interest.
>
> O'Loughlin usually occupies the other hob. . . . He is silent nearly

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[33] The research of Robert F. Bales indicates that most groups develop at least two leadership roles, the task leader who implements goals and instrumental activity and the more popular leader who functions as an integrator of the system. See Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, *et al., Working Papers* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953).

> all the time. . . . Just as he has no voice here, he has no title either.
>
> Roche, the "public prosecutor" sits in the chair before the hearth opposite the old man O'Donoghue. . . . Roche demands "Why," he forces one to parade one's best arguments, he pursues a point relentlessly to its final conclusion. There his interest stops, and he makes way for O'Donoghue, who sums up the agreement of the group. Roche earns his title well; he tests one's mettle. No one takes offense at his "prosecution." It clears the issue and brings out the right and the wrong upon which all can agree and O'Donoghue phrase judgment.
>
> Behind these two, a little further into the middle of the room, sits Cullinan, the "senator." . . . The "senator" is a "weighty" man. His part here is in character. . . . Cullinan's memory of persons and happenings, slowly and accurately, even pompously phrased, gives "weight" to the evening's discussions.
>
> Still further behind them, and often perched upon settle or table in this kitchen, are two other *habitués*. The elder of them is Ruin. . . . Privately, at least, the others think Ruin "a bit of a fool" . . . his role at *cuaird* is not a weighty one. Ruin is a very voluble man; he can be counted upon at all times to enliven the gathering with a deal of opinion upon all subjects. His volubility makes him more vulnerable than the rest to the "public prosecutor's" relentless logic. Nevertheless, it helps to keep the conversation alive and active. Consequently, though he has no important title, Ruin is a member of long standing.[34]

The other man sitting in the back of this kitchen was Quinn, who at the beginning of the study was changing from the role of member in a young man's clique, which he still attended, to the role of member in this *cuaird*. At the beginning of this transition the members of the old fellows clique thought of him as a "bit of a playboy." At one meeting he would be silent, at another "ready to joke, to render a song, to break into playful banter. . . ." In other words he had not yet established his role in the group. A year later the investigator reports that he was making progress. He had dropped the younger set of earlier acquaintances. "O'Donoghue, 'the judge,' passed judgment one evening which affirmed his new place. 'He's a bit of a playboy,' he said, 'but he has a good head on him.' "[35]

[34] Arensberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-134.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Status-roles in the Norton Street Gang. A study of the role behavior of city cliques comparable to studies of rural cliques would probably reveal status-roles such as those we have discussed but having different functions. All the studies of city gangs have described leaders who often depend to a considerable extent upon force for their position.[36] The Nortons had a leader in Doc, and two lieutenants, Mike and Danny. The data available indicate that Doc played many roles, such as those designated as judge, senator, and public prosecutor in the old fellows clique, plus combat leader and strategist, all rolled into one person.

As will be shown in the discussion of power, interaction is strictly channelled in clique groups. Among such groups there is no such thing as the ideal discussion group, as described by the proponents of group dynamics, in which most roles are interchangeable and positions of influence are rotated so that the person who is most competent in a given operation has the most influence. In such cliques, leaders usually lead regardless of their competence, but as previously indicated they attempt to keep the group engaged in activities in which they excel.

Power and its components—authority and influence. In the old fellows clique, it is obvious that the "judge" has the greatest power. He controls communication. Everything that is to be discussed by the group passes through him, and he determines when and how the discussion of a particular topic is terminated. The person of least power in this clique is O'Loughlin, who has no voice in the group, even though he always attends.

There is no doubt about who is the most powerful in the Norton Street Gang. It is Doc. Figure 12 indicates the relative status, based primarily on power, or what Whyte calls influence. The chart indicates the lines of influence of the members. The principal difference between power in informal and formal systems, is the relatively greater importance of authority in formal systems and the relatively greater importance of influence in informal systems. If the power held by Doc and his lieutenants were authority as in the case of the army, it would not only be marked by symbols on the uniforms, but Doc would have the right to give directives and have them carried out. These would be enforced by the customs and before the courts of the larger system and would have the sanctions of police power. As we have defined the terms, Doc has influence; the authority he does possess is confined to his group. It cannot be enforced logically by external sanction systems.

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[36] These studies are cited by Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 1.

As indicated previously, the counterparts of city gangs which are relatively free of family influence as described by Thrasher, Zorbaugh, Shaw, and Whyte,[37] are rural groupings based upon kinship. In some societies, these relationships may be structured into clans, in which case the leader will have an authoritative position defined by the law-norms. In the rural areas most influenced by modern, technological culture, those groupings which are larger than the immediate families are informal in the sense that the specific elements we use to define systems—status-roles, authority patterns, sanctions, and so on—are not specified by the larger community. Although data are lacking for rural groupings comparable to city gangs, we hypothesize the following:

1. Leadership or power is less pyramided, less dictatorial, and less absolute in rural than in urban groups. In interpreting Whyte's data on gangs, Homans says, "The more severe the environment in which the group must survive—ships and armies are examples again—the more likely it is that interaction will be strictly channelled."[38] In respect to "severity of environment," urban middle class friendship groups are probably more comparable to rural cliques than are lower class urban gangs. No doubt, too, cultural factors, including class and environment, are responsible for these differences. The hold of the rural family over its members is probably as important as any

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[37] See Sherif's summarization of this material, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.

[38] George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), p. 184.

other factor in restricting the growth and power of gangs in rural areas.

2. Non-family clique groupings which compete with the family for control of members are less common in rural than in urban areas, and they constitute a less important reference group for their members than comparable groupings in cities.

Social rank. In the description of the old fellows clique in Ireland, differences in social rank have been apparent. In order to be a member of such an old man's group, a certain social rank is required. "The old men's house includes all the farm-fathers of complete families. It is made up of those who are married and . . . 'have a responsibility on them.' Informal as it is, it nevertheless unites these men of full status within the community and unites them, too, in such a way as to crystallize and canalize the influence their status gives them."[39] Each culture will hold different factors important in the rank of both groups and individuals, but most rural cultures, like that of the Irish, emphasize age, the family, the farm operation, tenure, and size of farm. The more important the status-role a member plays in the system, the higher will be his rank. Also, the more individuals he may influence, the higher his rank will be.

Rank differences among the members of the Norton Street Gang are represented in Figure 12. In this system, rank is determined completely by the influence one has over fellow members of the system. Nevertheless, the leaders of the gang are those who most completely realize the norms the group values most highly. They have more contacts outside the system, and they not only do not violate the norms of the group, they personalize and enforce them.

Although cultural standards are important in the informal groupings, perhaps more than in other groups, effectiveness in personal relations, whether attained or ascribed, has importance in determining social rank. The personality of the individual is measured against the norms of the system, and the value

[39] Arensberg, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

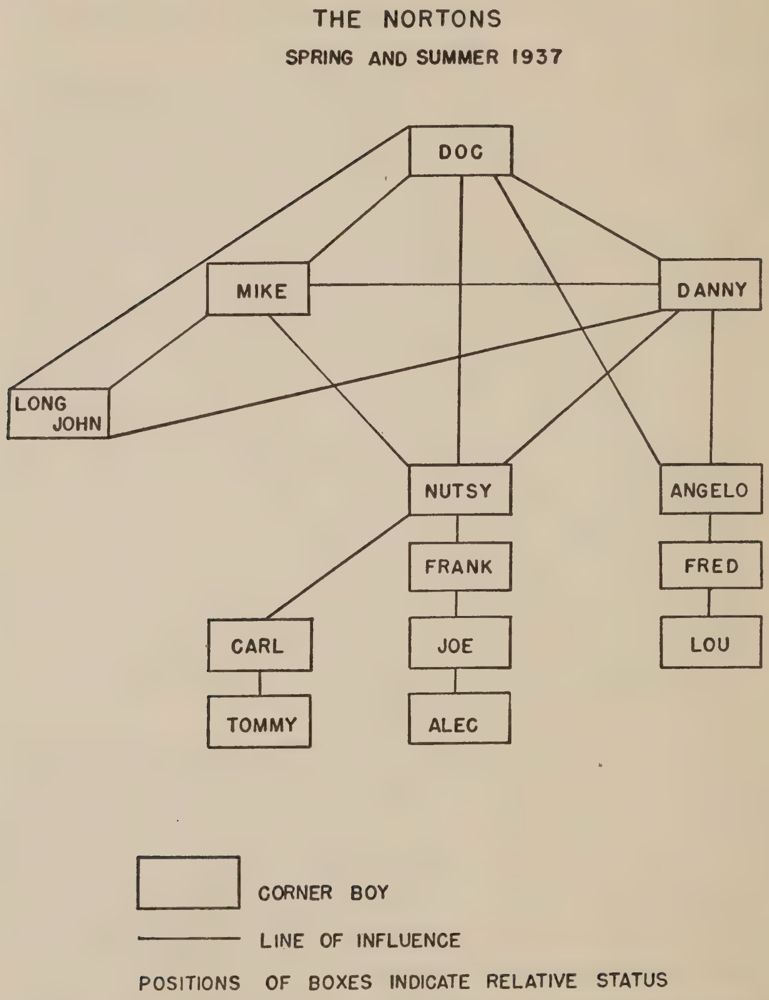
THE NORTONS
SPRING AND SUMMER 1937
DOC
MIKE
DANNY
LONG JOHN
NUTSY
ANGELO
FRANK
FRED
CARL
JOE
LOU
TOMMY
ALEC
CORNER BOY
LINE OF INFLUENCE
POSITIONS OF BOXES INDICATE RELATIVE STATUS

Figure 12. Rank Differences Among Members of the Norton Street Gang. (Reproduced from William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, p. 13.)

measuring stick is applied to specify the social rank. Of course, differences of rank in informal groups are not great, because, by definition, members believe themselves to be near equals.

Within the group, however, personality factors not involving status-role, wealth, and authority are reckoned in the equation. The change agent who must deal with informal groups will need to know the peculiarities of each, especially the criteria for social rank, if he is to use them in plans involving the introduction of new elements.

Sanctions. As is illustrated by both the old fellows clique in Ireland and the Norton Street Gang in Boston, much of the motivating force involves the rewards incorporated within these systems themselves. The power, status-role, and social rank achieved by the judge or by Doc may be considered rewards from within the system. When Doc ran for political office his group supported and worked very hard for him. Negative or penalty sanctions were applied when later, because of outside complications, he withdrew from an election and the gang members felt "let down" and "sold out." The gang fell apart, later regrouping around another leader and refusing to let Doc be the leader when he finally tried again.

Informal groups have informal sanction systems which do not require the specialized enforcement status-roles of police officers. Arensberg, for example, speaks as follows of public opinion as applied to the old men's cliques of Ireland: "That force is not implemented; it is merely the power of gossip and censure; only in critical days, as in the time of land agitation, can it rise to action, as a last resort, and win itself an international name: the boycott. But it is nonetheless powerful."[40]

All acquainted with rural life know the power of informal sanction systems. The rural school teacher who comes from the liberal circles of the city, the politician with upper or lower class city values who is dependent upon rural votes, or the extension worker who may have more liberal morals are examples of people to whom sanctions are likely to be applied. The power of gossip is particularly dangerous for change agents working in those rural communities which are in a stage of transition from the neighborhood to urban orientations. In such

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

situations, the protection one has in his occupational and professional cliques and formal systems of communication is not yet present.

Facilities. Informal groups in rural areas seldom avail themselves of extensive facilities, as we have defined the term. However, Whyte's account of the relation of city gangs to facilities during the depression is of interest to change agents working both in rural and urban areas. Not only were the settlement houses, a facility offered by middle class persons, not frequented by the Italian gangs, but gang members stole equipment, threw stones through the windows, and otherwise damaged the facilities. At the suggestion of Whyte, Doc—the unemployed leader of the Norton Street Gang—was put in a responsible position in one of the settlement house projects. The pilfering and destruction stopped. Once social-cultural linkage between the settlement house project and the gangs occurred, its facilities were treated as their facilities. They were not to be destroyed or stolen. However, they used their own norms for the use of facilities owned by houses which were not linked to their system.[41]

Territoriality. In discussing the old men's clique as a going concern, we indicated the customary spatial relationships of the members. Any effective change agent learns to evaluate such relationships. Sometimes in larger groupings the members of highest social rank always sit informally together in a given place. In opera houses, for example, the cost of admission may separate informal groups by rank. At some colleges, deans and administrators at faculty meetings may sit in a separate place in the assembly room.

Territoriality is frequently important in informal groups because other aspects of formal structure are lacking. A given corner or place in a building may be the chief referent. In his review of the study of the Norton Street Gang, Homans says:

> Besides its own corner, it often has a regular evening meeting

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[41] William F. Whyte, "The Social Role of the Settlement House," *Applied Anthropology,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (October—December, 1941), pp. 14-19.

place, a cafeteria or a tavern, where the gang goes at about nine o'clock for coffee or beer before going home. "Positions at the tables are fixed by custom. Night after night each group gathers around the same tables. The right to these positions is recognized by other Cornerville groups." A corner boy never gets far away from his own corner and his own routine.[42]

The importance of spatial relationships in the functioning and formation of informal and clique groups, particularly in newly settled rural areas, is very great. Perhaps the most interesting description of the operation of cliques is that reported in the study of Dyess Colony, Arkansas. The clique groupings, shortly after the formation of this resettlement project, were based primarily upon geographical location. Visiting and mutual-aid activities occurred most frequently between near neighbors. After a two-year period had elapsed, however, the clique groupings had changed markedly and realignments of cliques had occurred. The importance of clique groupings in this resettlement project was very great, since the decision to leave the project or to stay seemed to be determined more largely by clique groups than by rational decisions on the part of individuals. In a very real sense, it was clique groups that moved and clique groups that stayed.

Due to necessity of interaction at frequent intervals, nearness in a geographical sense is essential to the operation of clique groups. Although clique groups may exist where members are distant, generally such groups have a restricted territorial basis. Both high and intense rates of interaction between members are seldom possible except in restricted space. However, in upper and middle class rural and urban society, mobility is relatively great and clique groups include members from several neighborhoods. The more homogeneous the population of a community the higher the probability that close associates will be neighbors.[43]

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[42] Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

[43] Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization, op. cit.*, pp. 41-123; and Liell, *op. cit.*

SOCIAL PROCESSES IN INFORMAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Communication. Difficulties of communication are often at a minimum within informal social systems. "The more intimate the friendship, the greater the range of content which flows through this communication channel and the lower the restraining forces against communication."[44] The symbols which permit reciprocal interaction of members on the basis of shared experiences are so well internalized that each can almost exactly predict what another will do under given circumstances. Often a word or a gesture unintelligible to outsiders is sufficient to convey to fellow members meanings of consequence for the group. Many clique groups develop their own vocabularies.

This fact often forces outsiders, such as change agents who attempt to influence the system or its members, to use more formal and conventional means of communication and to remain outsiders. Rural informal groups are also influenced by the cultural system and tradition, and resist change because of inertia. In discussing the old fellows clique, Arensberg writes as follows about a member in the group: ". . . the countryman's way of life exerts its strongest sway upon him. . . . Agriculture, perhaps, comes first. Times of sowing, reaping and harvesting are debated. Prices are compared, innovations tested. Traditional methods receive their strongest support here, in the web of legend, proverb and reference to the past the speakers throw round them."[45] In almost all rural clique groups, the change agent must expect resistance to change, and change that affects the ends and norms will be resisted most.

Homans' conclusions concerning communication should be of interest to the change agent. "We can say then that *the more nearly equal in social rank a number of men are, the more frequently they will interact with one another*. . . . We can say then that *the higher a man's social rank, the more frequently he interacts with persons outside his own group . . . the*

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[44] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[45] Arensberg, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

higher a man's social rank, the larger the number of persons for whom he originates interaction, either directly or through intermediaries."[46]

As will be indicated in our discussion of social-cultural linkage, special problems are always involved in the linkage of informal with formal systems. "What factors will determine what is and what is not communicated within a social group? It is probable that, other things being equal, there will be more communication in a social group on matters which affect the behavior of the members in the context of that particular group than on matters which are not immediately relevant to the group's functioning. The direction of the communication flow will be toward those members for whose social behavior the content of the communication is especially relevant."[47] It is not to be expected that rural informal groups will carry the same type of information through their channels of communication as urban groups. The old fellows clique in rural Ireland would not be likely to discuss the same things as the Norton Street Gang, even if they had the same cultural background.

Decision-making. Although probably the most important functions of clique groupings in both rural and urban areas may be considered that of giving meaning and worth to the individual member and mitigating loneliness, decision-making is also an important function. The old fellows clique in Ireland is built around discussion and decision for the community at large. Although the Norton Street Gang engaged less in this kind of interaction, the four leaders discussed alternative courses of action at great length.

Homans' summary description of Figure 12 indicates the decision-making process of the gang: "The diagram . . . shows two things at once. In the first place, the lines between the members of the gang are lines of 'influence.' In actual behavior this seems to mean that if Doc felt the group ought to take a particular line of action, he was apt to talk the matter over first with Mike and Danny and perhaps Long John. If the decision reached Long John it went no further; he influenced no one. But if it reached Mike, he was apt to pass it on to Nutsy, and through Nutsy it reached Frank, Joe, Alec, Carl, and Tommy. Or Doc could influence Nutsy directly. As for influence in the opposite direction, if Tommy, for instance, had an idea that the gang ought to take a certain step, the idea was apt to get to Doc through Carl and Nutsy. . . . Doc was the acknowledged leader of the Nortons, Mike and Danny serving as his lieutenants; the rest of the men were followers."[48] Decisions made by Doc had the advantage of these discussions, and they had to conform to the norms of the group or they were not accepted.

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[46] Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 184 and 185-6.

[47] Festinger, Schachter, and Back, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

Even in informal groups, such as gangs, where the power is centralized in one person, there is always a great amount of two-way action. That is, there are followers making suggestions as well as leaders giving directives. In decision-making in informal groups, it is usually more difficult for participants to hide private interests and claim public interests. In informal groups, each member usually knows intimately the private needs and wishes of the others, and, if these are at variance with the larger system, it is usually more difficult to conceal this fact than in most formal systems.

Boundary maintenance. Perhaps the easiest way to observe the manner in which an informal group maintains its boundaries is to observe its activities when in contact with opposing systems, when new members are being initiated into the system, and when members are expelled from the system. Cliques, such as the Norton Street Gang, establish territorial boundaries and fight other groups who enter these boundaries. Individuals who are being considered for membership must demonstrate that they have the same values, and frequently initiation involves proving or developing these. Members may be expelled and sanctions applied when they violate the central norms or do not accept the group values. In discussing the Norton Street Gang,

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[48] Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162.

Whyte describes how some members began going with girls having higher social rank. This led to frustrations not only because gang members did not have money enough to manage relationships on the higher level, but because it excluded some members and brought those involved into relation with other gangs. The leaders, when they saw that the group was threatened, used the device of "symbol manipulation" to discontinue the interaction. Although relations were good between the pairs involved, the girls were branded as "snooty," "tactless," and as thinking themselves too good for the Nortons. In the previous discussion of norms, the manner in which the incest taboos are applied to maintain integration and solidarity has been mentioned. Of course, informal groups on all levels use such devices as snubbing, derision, ridicule, mockery, and the like for purposes of boundary maintenance. Informal groups of higher social rank may be able to maintain boundaries by providing physical barriers, such as special compartments in vehicles or in public places, which limit interaction with those in other informal groupings.

Social-cultural linkage. Informal social systems, when considered in relation to directed social change, are usually target systems, not change agents or systems. A change agent or system, such as an agricultural extension service with ends which require it to introduce change into other systems, in nearly all cases is a formal system. Of course, within the formal change systems there are cliques and other informal groupings, but the Cooperative Extension Services, schools, the Soil Conservation Services, military governments, and technical cooperation missions are formal organizations. They frequently attempt to change those who are organized in informal systems.

As will be indicated later, all attempts to carry out programs which involve changes in practices and attitudes involve informal systems. However, possibly the most difficult problem in the strategy of change is the matter of an effective linkage of the formal change system with the informal target system. This may be illustrated by two instances related by a former director of extension.

> In another county where I was agent for a time, we almost lost the name of the thing we were trying to get accepted. We were trying to introduce a new and improved variety of rye. This was a long time ago, but that variety was then much superior in productivity per acre and care required than any we had in the county. In a short time it was adopted by most of the farmers, but it was not called variety X rye, the designation which the college and I gave it. One group of farmers called it White's rye, another called it Arnold's rye, and it went by the names of several farmers who were the leaders of various groups in the county.

In this instance the college and the extension service had effected a merger of their systems with the local informal groups of farmers. These groups had retained their original structures, including their leaders.

> I am interested in these informal groups and leaders you are talking about. It is my impression that organizations can destroy them. I remember when I was county agent in X County. That was some years ago, but the Service began a vigorous campaign of designating good farmers and citizens in communities as Master Farmers. Often these had been effective leaders in their groups and people had never thought of them and they never thought of themselves as exceptional, except that they were good farmers and always helpful to others. When they were publicly acclaimed Master Farmers, it sort of set them apart. They were often not much good as local leaders any more.

Convergence of the change system and the target system was not accomplished in the above case. On the contrary, the Master Farmer was deprived of his position in the target system and more or less absorbed into the change system. The Master Farmer is comparable perhaps to the local clique leader who is elected to high office in the state or national government. If he becomes too involved in his activities and status-role in the larger system and does not "keep his fences mended," he may lose the support of the local system.

Successful strategy of change involving leaders of informal cliques can be illustrated by a case described by Whyte. In Boston, as elsewhere, settlement houses were designed for lower class minority groups suffering from poverty. The funds and administration of such organizations were from the social classes above those whom they were designed to serve. The local street gangs were considered by those who operated these projects to be "roughnecks" and the "tough element" which seemed to be unreachable. When ordinary fellows from these groups took jobs in the settlement houses, it was an indication to corner boys, such as those in the Norton Street Gang, that they were too good for them and trying to leave their kind through social climbing. On the other hand, the corner boys called those from their own ranks who worked at the settlement house or in any way cooperated "stooges," "flunkeys" and "yes-men" for the social workers.

When the settlement houses launched a project of establishing recreation centers in vacant stores, one director agreed as an experiment to place Doc, leader of the Norton Street Gang, in charge of one unit. Because Doc, in contrast to the middle class leaders, knew "Cornerville society," particularly the leaders and power relations in all of the gangs, and because of his other abilities, his unit became the most successful by all standards. When things were stolen or when the corner boys threw stones at his center, Doc did not attempt to deal directly with those who were thought to be involved. He negotiated with or used force on their leaders. Doc's center was successful, not only in athletics, but also in so-called "constructive work" such as art, publication of a house paper, and similar activities.

This experiment indicates an approximate fusion of two systems and social-cultural linkage. Doc's success was due to knowledge of the systems of the corner boys and his own system supported him. Through Doc's work, Mr. Kendall, head of the boys' work at the settlement house, came to know the corner boys of the area. Prior to this time, he and other settlement house leaders had been known as friends of the rich and identified with the Republican party. Then the corner gangs began to come to Mr. Kendall personally; they identified him as a man who was interested in helping the corner boys. At their requests Mr. Kendall was able to obtain a city appropriation for improvement of the park facilities, the first appropriation of this type that had appeared in the city budget for seven years. Without the voting power of the Cornerville boys and their friends, Mr. Kendall could not have brought sufficient pressure on the city government to get such facilities. The linkage of the informal systems with the settlement house program had lasting results. In the words of Whyte, "The recreation center then not only brought about a change in the corner boys' attitude toward the Cornerville House, but it also made Mr. Kendall a powerful man in the local community. . . ."[49]

[49] Whyte, "The Social Role of the Settlement House," *op. cit.*, p. 19.

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Regional Social Systems

THE CONCEPT OF TYPE-OF-FARMING AREA AS USED by the agricultural economist, the rural sociologist, and the social or cultural anthropologist is an excellent example of an entity which depends upon its cultural components for articulation. If, on a map of the country, one were to indicate the location of such cultural configurations as cotton gins, cotton cultivators, and plantation manors—or dairy herds, milking machines, and cheese factories—we would find them to be at least approximately coterminous with the cotton or dairy type-of-farming areas.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS

The type-of-farming areas of a nation must usually be expressed in terms of cultural traits, because they do not normally form separate and distinct social systems. Only in times of crisis, when those engaged in common production and marketing activities organize to accomplish an objective, are they true social systems possessing ends, norms, status-roles, and the other elements of social systems.

Nonetheless, the change agent and the social scientist must understand type-of-farming areas and the social systems of which they are composed. An effective educational program designed to teach rural people what to do in case of an A-bomb attack, for example, would have to take into account the differences among the type-of-farming regions. Likewise, the social scientist who wishes to speak of the social structure and value orientation of the nation frequently must speak from research findings for the various regions.

As used in the following pages, type-of-farming areas refer to those in which the major source of income on farms and/or ranches comes from a designated crop or from general agriculture. Rural cultural regions are areas which are homogeneous with respect to certain cultural traits such as level of living, fertility of women of child-bearing age, size of the agricultural enterprise, farm tenancy, land value, extent of home consumption of farm produce, prevalence of nonfarm families in the rural areas, and, where pertinent, ethnic and racial factors.[1]

Figure 13 outlines the generalized type-of-farming areas in the United States. Our primary attention will focus upon type-of-farming areas, rather than rural cultural regions. While the cultural areas are relatively numerous and are exceedingly irregular in shape, they do permit the investigator to divide the major type-of-farming areas into more homogeneous sub-areas on the basis of sociological traits which "fit together."

Lively and Almack,[2] pioneers in cultural region research, noted that among other items the fertility ratio and the level of living index moved together. In other words, when a county had a high fertility ratio it tended to have a low level of living index. Later Mangus used this relationship and others to plot cultural regions for the nation. He observed that "if, from the

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[1] See discussion in C. P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), Chapter 8.

[2] C. E. Lively and R. M. Almack, "A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio" (Wooster: Ohio AES Mimeograph Bulletin No. 106; January, 1938).

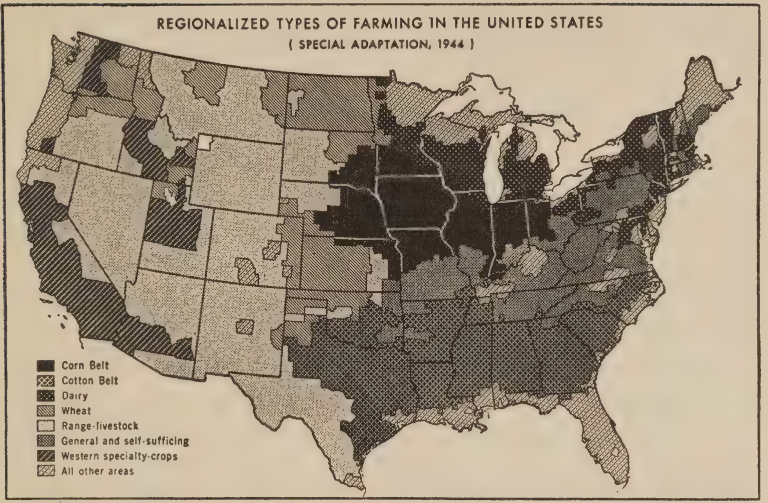
REGIONALIZED TYPES OF FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES
(SPECIAL ADAPTATION, 1944)
Corn Belt
Cotton Belt
Dairy
Wheat
Range-livestock
General and self-sufficing
Western specialty-crops
All other areas

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Figure 13. Major Type-of-Farming Areas in the United States. (Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.)

cards which record these factors for all counties in the United States, those that represent counties with the lowest plane of living and at the same time the highest ratio of children to women are sorted out, their regional pattern when plotted in a map is most striking. . . . If the extreme opposites of these counties are plotted, that is, counties with highest plane of living and lowest population fertility, equally striking results appear."[3] Only two major areas in the United States are exceptions to the usual relationship between fertility rates and levels of living. One exception is found in the Mormon culture, including Utah and contiguous areas, where high birth rates are associated with a high level of living, and the other is the Mississippi Delta area, in which low birth rates are associated with low levels of living. Apparently, the former exception is accounted for by the value orientation of the Mormon religion,[4] the latter by diseases which appear to affect reproduction.

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[3] A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), pp. 81-82.

TYPE-OF-FARMING AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

In his work on type of farming, Elliott emphasizes the economic basis and character of such areas. His position is well illustrated in the following quotation: "Types of farming are regional manifestations of the principle of economic specialization. They result from man's efforts to adjust himself and his resources to his environmental conditions. Type of farming, specifically, is a term descriptive of the kind of farming followed on a group of farms having a high degree of uniformity in the kind, relative amount, and proportion of the crops and livestock handled, and in the methods and practices followed in production. Types of farming are identified, therefore, by the form which the farm business takes with respect to size, productive factors used, lines of production carried on, and the general policy adopted in the conduct of the business. When a type of farming is fairly well concentrated in one area, so that it is the prevailing or dominant type in that area, usually associated with a set of reasonably homogeneous, natural, and economic conditions occurring throughout a definite geographic area, an area so characterized may be called a type of farming area."[5]

Since one of the primary focuses of this book concerns problems of change agents in rural areas, the major types-of-farming areas are described largely in terms of characteristics of interest to the change agent. Of necessity, the descriptions are brief.[6]

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[4] Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), and "Education and the Changing Size of Mormon Families," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (December, 1952). In the latter, Nelson shows that Mormons are becoming less exceptional in regard to differential fertility.

[5] Foster F. Elliott, *Types of Farming in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 1. The basic descriptions of major types-of-farming areas in the United States were developed by F. F. Elliott in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and this work remains classic in the field.

[6] For a more detailed description, see Carl C. Taylor, *et al., Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), Part IV.

The Cotton Belt. This type-of-farming area contains approximately 33 per cent of the farm population of the nation and is characterized by high birth rates, low levels of living, high proportions of native American stock, and large proportions of non-whites and non-owners. (See Figure 13.) It is the most rural of the regions. The fluctuation of work in growing and harvesting cotton influences the time of school vacations, social events, business activities, and church revivals. The heavy work period, during the picking season in September and October, is in sharp contrast to the slack period in winter and early spring. The plantation organization is the pace-setter in much of the area. For generations the plantation system has permitted only a relatively few to initiate action, to make important decisions, or to engage in concerted community action. Interaction in rural groups is largely informal, with traditional and sacred activities dominant. Rural religion is generally fundamentalistic. Traditionally, a high value is placed upon oratory. The Farm Bureau is the strongest of the general farmers' organizations and the cooperative movement is particularly weak in this area. Some of the most solidary neighborhoods in the entire country, often organized around a church, are found in the Cotton Belt.

The Wheat Areas. The Wheat Areas, containing approximately four percent of the farm population of the nation, bear slight similarity to the Cotton Belt. (See Figure 13.) Levels of living and income are high, relatively little of the produce is consumed by the family, the birth rate is low, and proportions owning tractors and other costly equipment are high. Neighborhoods are weak, but the trade centers are important structuring points for economic and social life. Although the rate of tenancy is comparatively high, tenants have relatively high status. The Farmers' Union is strongest in these areas, particularly in the Dakotas. Over three-fourths of the work load is concentrated in four months, and spring, winter, and early summer are relatively idle months.

The Corn Belt. In this type-of-farming area, containing approximately 14 per cent of the nation's farmers, less emphasis is placed upon a single crop than in the Cotton or Wheat Areas. (See Figure 13.) The Corn Belt is characterized by high levels of living, large income, and low birth rates. The one-room neighborhood school is still important, but in other social and economic activities the larger trade center is becoming increasingly important. Special interest groups are organized around commodities, and farms are highly mechanized. The Farm Bureau is strongest in this area. Heaviest work loads usually come in April, May, June, September, and October. County agricultural agents and others who work with rural groups must adapt their programs to the ebb and flow of farm activities.

The Dairy Areas. The Dairy Areas account for approximately 12 per cent of the farm population and include several cultural regions. (See Figure 13.) In the lake states portion, the Scandinavian-American stocks are dominant; in the northeast, the Old American and Canadian stocks predominate. The value of products consumed at home is high, and a high rate of farm ownership prevails. The farms in this area are highly mechanized, with work loads relatively stable throughout the year. The New England heritage is more important in this region than in other areas of the United States. Many special interest groups exist, and producers' cooperatives are strong. The strongest farm organization is the Grange in much of the Dairy Areas. West of New England, the trade-centered village settlement pattern, which grew up in the border areas such as New York State, is common. Few farmers are more closely bound to their work routine, season in and season out, than the dairy farmer.

The General and Self-Sufficing Areas. This type-of-farming area includes approximately 19 per cent of the farmers of the country. (See Figure 13.) Lower levels of living, average machinery inventories, and relatively high birth rates characterize this area. Neighborhood, informal friendship or clique groups, churches, and other organizations support the family-centered life. The families of the area produce for home use to a larger extent than elsewhere. The family farm is dominant and the ownership rate is relatively high. In this area there is considerable time for non-work activities, especially during the winter.

The Range-Livestock Areas. This area embraces approximately four per cent of the total farm population, occupies the largest land area, and includes diverse cultural groups. (See Figure 13.) Population density is low. The areas inhabited by Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Mormons, raise the birth rates in this area. Except in these areas, neighborhoods are relatively weak. Outside the Indian and Spanish-speaking areas, incomes are relatively high. The livestock industry dominates the lives of the people, and the traditions of the "wild and woolly West" still survive. This dominant industry is well organized and constitutes a social, economic, and political power to be reckoned with. There is perhaps more leisure time in this area than others, but distances and population sparsity make many activities of county agricultural agents and other change agents very difficult.

The Western Specialty-Crop Areas. This type-of-farming area accounts for about three per cent of the total farm population. These Specialty-Crop areas are small and are non-contiguous. Factory farms are found in the California area, where labor-management cleavages are important. The family farm prevails elsewhere, especially in the Mormon areas. The foreign population is large and in the family farming areas is characterized by strong peasant traditions. High levels of living, high incomes and low birth rates are characteristic of this area. Harvest seasons require large labor forces and often pose special problems, especially when transient labor is necessary.

Residual areas. There are several smaller areas, not considered major type-of-farming regions, called residual areas. (See Figure 13.) The lake states cut-over area is characterized by low incomes, relatively high birth rates, and large proportions of foreign-born. This section contains a large proportion of rural-nonfarm inhabitants who depend upon off-farm work, especially in the mines. In many respects, the lake states area is like the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. Additional sources of income are being opened up by tourist and recreation industries.

The tobacco-growing counties of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina stand out as sections not included in the seven major type-of-farming areas. In these areas, farmers are dependent upon the intensive cultivation of a cash crop that requires a great deal of carefully directed labor. The associational life of the people is not unlike that of the General and Self-Sufficing Farming Areas.

The Atlantic seaboard, although not a large area, is an important vegetable-producing section. The largest district outside of the seven major type-of-farming regions is the Gulf Coast fringe, including much of Florida. Sugar cane, citrus fruits, and vegetables are grown here. The Gulf Coast areas are similar to the Western Specialty-Crop Areas in some respects, especially in the need for transient labor.

LOW INCOME AS RELATED TO TYPE-OF-FARMING AREAS

Although low income farms may be found in all type-of-farming areas, they are most numerous in areas of high rural density, in areas of high birth rates, and in areas where off-farm employment possibilities are slight or where the land is not adapted to the use of machinery. The major problem areas, as shown in Figure 14, are not radically different from those outlined in the mid-thirties.[7]

The most "serious" problem areas are located in the Cotton Belt and in the General and Self-Sufficing type-of-farming areas. As shown in Figure 14, however, an extensive "serious" problem

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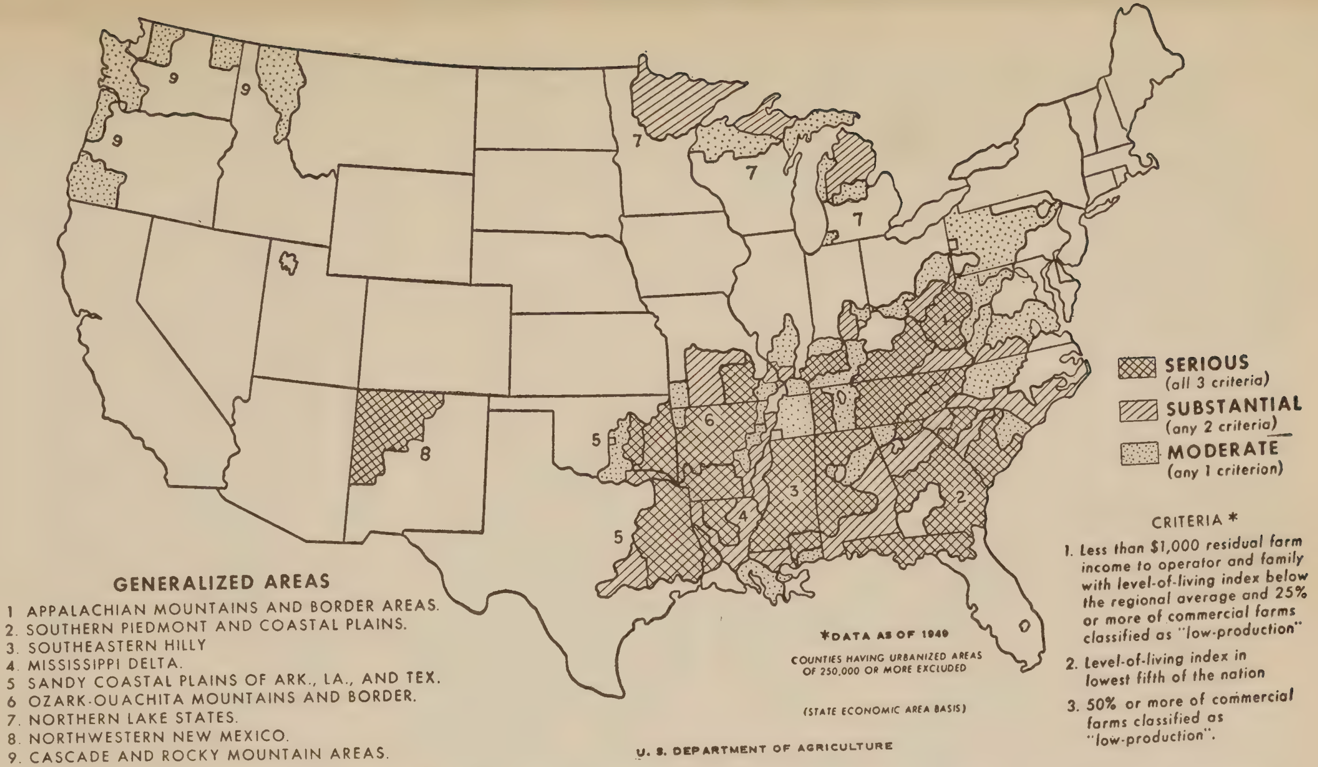
[7] *Development of Agriculture's Human Resources, A Report on Problems of Low-Income Farmers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture; April, 1955). The six problem areas of the United States in the mid-thirties were: (1) the Appalachian-Ozark area; (2) the eastern Cotton Belt; (3) the Texas and Oklahoma cotton areas; (4) the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area; (5) the spring wheat area of the Northern Plains; and (6) the winter wheat area of the Central Plains. P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, Res. Monog. I (Washington, D.C.: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1935).



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5
6
4
3
2
1
SERIOUS
(all 3 criteria)
SUBSTANTIAL
(any 2 criteria)
MODERATE
(any 1 criterion)
CRITERIA *
1. Less than $1,000 residual farm income to operator and family with level-of-living index below the regional average and 25% or more of commercial farms classified as "low-production"
2. Level-of-living index in lowest fifth of the nation
3. 50% or more of commercial farms classified as "low-production".
*DATA AS OF 1949
COUNTIES HAVING URBANIZED AREAS OF 250,000 OR MORE EXCLUDED
(STATE ECONOMIC AREA BASIS)
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
GENERALIZED AREAS
1 APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS AND BORDER AREAS.
2. SOUTHERN PIEDMONT AND COASTAL PLAINS.
3. SOUTHEASTERN HILLY
4. MISSISSIPPI DELTA.
5 SANDY COASTAL PLAINS OF ARK., LA., AND TEX.
6 OZARK-OUACHITA MOUNTAINS AND BORDER.
7. NORTHERN LAKE STATES.
8. NORTHWESTERN NEW MEXICO.
9. CASCADE AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN AREAS.

Figure 14. Rural Problem Areas in the United States. Three categories in relation to seriousness of the problems are indicated. (Adapted from *Development of Agriculture's Human Resources.* Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1955, p. 7.)

area is located in the Range-Livestock Area of New Mexico. A moderately serious problem area is located largely in the residual type-of-farming area of the Northwest. In addition, the Great Lakes cut-over areas of Northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan are classed as "substantial" or "moderate" problem areas.

Due to lack of space, the nature of the problems in Areas 1, 4, and 7 (See Figure 14.) will be treated briefly. Area 1—Appalachian Mountains and Border Areas—is mountainous, with little good tillable land and a large farm population. Burley and dark tobacco farms are the most common commercial enterprises, with livestock farms and general farming ranking next. The problem for this area arises from low average tobacco allotments and spotty or declining opportunities for off-farm work. Area 4—Mississippi Delta—is an area of fertile soil, high tenancy, and low levels of living. The main crops are cotton, rice, and sugar cane, produced under plantation conditions. The mechanization of cotton production and the attractiveness of urban employment is reducing the farm population of the Delta. Area 7—Northern Lake States—is a problem area due in large part to the exhaustion of timber and mineral resources. Dairying is the most frequent type of farming, but soils are shallow and distance to markets great. This area has been an area of heavy out-migration for a number of years.

VALUE ORIENTATION AND REGION

What influence do the activities and culture of the type-of-farming areas have upon the value orientation and attitudes of the people? Unfortunately we do not have detailed data concerning value orientation for various type-of-farming areas, but some regional comparisons are suggestive. A recent study[8] comprising a sample of 4,933 adults compares the attitudes of tolerance toward socialists, atheists, communists, or suspected communists in the West, the East, the Middle West, and the South. Unfortunately, these regional divisions embrace part or all of several types-of-farming areas. The differences in tolerance scores in these four regions, for the places of different size, are shown in Table 5.

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[8] Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross-Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), p. 118.

TABLE 5

PROPORTION OF URBAN AND RURAL PEOPLE CLASSIFIED AS MORE TOLERANT, BY REGION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Region (Entire Cross-section)	*Farm* (Per cent)	*Small Town* (Per cent)	*Other Cities* (Per cent)	*Metropolitan* (Per cent)
West	35	34	46	54
East	18	35	31	47
Middle West	26	27	33	34
South	10	14	16	24
For Those People More Interested In Issues				
Region	*Farm*	*Small Town*	*Other Cities*	*Metropolitan*
West	33	33	50	60
East	26	40	38	50
Middle West	27	30	38	39
South	15	17	19	32

SOURCE: Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 118.

In general the South is least tolerant and the West most tolerant as determined by the Guttman type scale used in this study. Also farm and rural (small town) people are generally less tolerant in most of the regions than the urban people. Such differences generally hold for various levels of education and for certain specified leaders and the general population. The authors conclude that the more opportunity people have for travel and new experience, the more tolerant they become. Rural people and southerners appear to lack these broadening influences. Therefore, they manifest attitudes which we have described as related to boundary maintenance when confronted with threatening ideologies and their bearers.

FARMING SYSTEMS

Evolution and revolution in farming systems. Insufficient scientific studies are available to specify the relative merits of the important farming systems in the world today. We do not know the relative economic efficiency of the Russian and Central European collective farms, the large corporate farm, the family farm, or the cooperative enterprises among farms. Neither is there agreement as to the social advantages to the individuals and families living under various farming systems, not to mention the solidarity and welfare of the nations within which they are located.

The ideology involved in the evaluation of various farming systems presents interesting considerations for the social scientist. The congressional committee reports and debates on the floor of Congress regarding farming systems, for example, show that this is an area in which many Americans are not rational. For many, the family farm is an end in and of itself. McWilliams reports that the LaFollette Committee on Civil Liberties and the Tolan Committee on Migratory Labor indicate that "most of the witnesses accepted without qualification the assumption that the 'family-sized farm' is the eternal ideal toward which all American thinking on agricultural problems must be directed." McWilliams, expressing a view not held by the authors, continues with his own evaluation saying, "The most acute testimony presented before both Committees clearly indicated that the family-sized farm is not likely to survive in our economy."[9]

In his analysis of the consideration that Congressmen gave to New Deal experiments with cooperative farms, Eaton[10] shows how conservatives may use the concept of the family farm as a symbol-manipulation device. These new projects were condemned along with those who planned them as being opposed to the "sacredness of the 'family farm.' " Some members of Congress attempted to brand the leaders who planned the cooperative farms as communists, because the latter did not recognize the sacred nature of the family farm. Through these devices, according to Eaton, "big-business" agriculture, which in many ways is as inimical to the family farm as cooperative farming, could be advanced. The supporters of modern communism are just as irrational concerning the advantages of the collectives of Soviet Russia.[11] The fact remains that large scale enterprises have displaced family farm patterns in Palestine, in Russia and many Eastern European countries, and to a lesser extent in Mexico. Eaton summarizes some of these considerations as follows: "Although the varied conditions and types of agriculture existing in each country make a comparison of these statistics difficult, they at least are a strong indication that farms of 1,000 to 6,000 acres are practical."[12]

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[9] Carey McWilliams, *Ill Fares the Land* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), p. 384.

[10] Joseph W. Eaton, *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), p. 45.

The family farm—definition and distribution. Throughout all areas in the United States, except for the Cotton Belt and some parts of the Western Specialty-Crop Areas, the family is the central entrepreneur and work unit. The family farm is also the dominant agricultural unit in many other areas of the world including Canada, some areas in Costa Rica, Chile, Southern Brazil, Colombia, Turkey, India, Pakistan, China, Japan, Korea, and Western Europe. The rural culture built around the family farm or ranch economy is essentially different from other rural cultures. Farmers and ranchers in such cultures are representatives of labor and management at one and the same time, but they are seldom extremists in behalf of either. In the family farm situation children learn to make independent decisions, important to the farm operation; concerted group action and cooperation among families in such activities as marketing is common; and the independence that Jefferson extolled as the bulwark of democracy is compatible with the life in family farm areas. On the other hand, farm enterprises which are larger than the family farm, such as the plantation, corporation farm, and other "factory farm" enterprises, furnish opportunity for relatively few to develop initiative and to exercise entrepreneurship.

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[11] Eaton analyzes the Russian experience and indicates that although the Soviets began with units up to 100,000 or 200,000 acres, present farms are much smaller. The average size of 243,700 *kolhozy* (peasant cooperative corporation farms) is 1,228 acres. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Nelson writes that "the family farm can be said to represent the 'American ideal' of farm organization." After describing the concept he writes, "Despite the numerous variations and the difficulty of precise definition, the term 'family farm' is in general use and there is a common understanding as to its meaning."[13] The Family Farm Policy Committee defines the family farm as follows:

> 1. The entrepreneurial functions vested in the farm family. 2. The human effort required to operate the farm provided by the farm family with the addition of such supplementary labor as may be necessary, either for seasonal peak loads or during the developmental and transitional stages in the family itself. (The amount of such regular outside labor should not provide a total labor force in excess of that to be found in the family of 'normal' size in the community.) 3. A farm large enough, in terms of land, capital, modern technology, and other resources, to employ the labor resources of the farm family efficiently.[14]

On the basis of work on gross income per farm in 1939, Benedict, Elliott, Tolley, and Taeuber[15] suggested the following classification, with number of farms in each class:

I. Large-Scale Farms (Value of Products $10,000 or more)		58,313
II. Family-Commercial Farms		2,973,192
$4,000-$9,999	154,626	
$2,500-$3,999	375,973	
$1,000-$2,499	1,389,018	
$ 600-$ 999	1,053,575	
III. Part-time Farms (Value of Products under $600, where operator worked 100 days or more off the farm)		600,000
IV. Residential Farms (Product value less than $600; operator 65 years or older; worked less than 100 days off the farm)		600,000
V. Small-Scale Farms and Unclassified (Product value less than $600; operators under 65 years of age; worked less than 100 days off the farm)		1,725,000

In this classification, approximately half of all farms were "Family-Commercial Farms" having gross incomes between

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[13] Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 265.

[14] Joseph Ackermann and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 389.

[15] M. R. Benedict, F. F. Elliott, H. R. Tolley, and Conrad Taeuber, "Need for a New Classification of Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXVI (1944), pp. 694-708.

$600 and $9,999. Due to changes in farm organization, the Census of Agriculture initiated changes in categories of farms in 1945 and in 1950 revised the classification. The present classification distinguishes two major classes: (1) commercial farms and (2) other farms. Commercial farms are subdivided into six economic classes, ranging from $25,000 or more (Class I) to $250-$1,199 (Class VI) in value of products sold. "Other farms" are grouped into (1) part-time, (2) residential, and (3) abnormal farms. In 1950, 68.9 per cent of all farms were classed as "commercial farms" and 31.1 per cent as "other farms."

In the Corn Belt, the family farming area *par excellence*, a small proportion of farmers work off the farm, and a large proportion of all farm work is done by family labor.[16] Small farms that produce too little to be considered family farms are most numerous in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas and in the Cotton Belt.

As will be indicated in subsequent discussion, one of the most remarkable phenomena of American rural life is the extent to which the family farm unit has withstood the rationalization prevailing in other lines of commerce and production. Raper writes as follows: "By any realistic measure, around four million, or over two-thirds of all farm operators in this country are independent operators, or entrepreneurs. They determine when they will plant and harvest, where and how they will sell their farm products and buy their supplies. . . . They don't get up or go to work by the clock, nor does a clock stop them at noon or at the end of the day. Except on plantations where dependent tenants and hired laborers work by bells, nearly all farmers determine their own working hours. . . ."[17]

That American farms are becoming larger is indicated by Table 6. An increased proportion of all farms were farms of 500 acres or more since 1920. At the same time, small farms under ten acres in size accounted for a growing proportion of all farms.

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[16] Carl C. Taylor, "The Corn Belt," in Taylor, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 361.

[17] Arthur F. Raper, "Comparisons and Contrasts of Major Type-Farming Areas," in Taylor, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 464.

TABLE 6

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SIZE CLASS, 1920, 1930, 1940 AND 1950

Size of Farm	*Per Cent Distribution and Year*			
	1920	*1930*	*1940*	*1950*
Under 10 acres	4.5	5.7	8.3	9.0
10-19 acres	7.9	8.9	9.2	27.5
20-49 acres	23.3	22.9	20.0	
50-99 acres	22.9	21.9	21.2	19.5
100-179 acres	22.5*	21.4*	21.5	20.5
180-259 acres	8.2*	8.3*	8.0	9.1
260-499 acres	7.4	7.2	7.5	8.9
500-999 acres	2.3	2.5	2.7	3.4
1,000 acres and over	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 642.

* In 1920 and 1930, data are for 100-175 acres and 175-259 acres. Percentages may not add to exactly 100.0% in all years due to rounding.

In 1920, farms of 500 acres or more accounted for 34 percent of all land in farms; by 1950, farms of this size accounted for approximately 54 per cent of all land in farms.

When all aspects of farm life are considered, one of the most important characteristics is the farm operator's number of rights and immunity from authority. This is particularly true of the individual operator of the family farm who takes pride in being his "own boss," even though he may owe thousands to the local banker. No factory whistles tell him when to start and stop work, he punches no time clocks, he need not lie awake nights worrying whether or not his comments to the boss had the right effect.

Almost all business and production enterprises have been able to effect savings in purchases, improve their marketing procedures, and effect economies in general by increasing the magnitude of their operations. Farming and ranching is no exception. If only a part of the difference between wholesale and retail prices for the farm equipment bought by farmers could be saved, for example, it would run into thousands of dollars annually. There have been various types of large-scale farm enterprises. We shall mention only the more important.

The corporation farm. In terms of social organization, a corporation farm is like any other corporate enterprise, be it a factory or an insurance company. A manager is employed by the corporation. The final authority resides in the board of directors, but the status-role of manager carries authority in operating the enterprise within the policies and procedures defined by the board. Hired labor or tenants or both are used for manpower. Most corporation farms, sometimes called "factories in the fields," produce specialty crops and are most frequently located in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. Cotton, tobacco, and other crops, however, are sometimes produced on corporation farms. Obviously the end of such an enterprise is profit to the stockholders.

Norms and laws to prevent extreme exploitation of labor usually develop in cultures where labor organizations are prevalent. Nonetheless, it is difficult for the manager, not to mention the laborers, to make farming "a way of life." The manager and the laborers cannot become interested in developing a permanent home, for much of the labor requirements on such enterprises is seasonal. The status-role, social ranking, and sanction patterns in the corporation farm are not different from those in the plantation. In fact some modern plantation owners have little more intimate contact with their plantations than most stockholders have with their corporations. For example, the senior author spent some time on one of the largest corporation operations in the Peruvian Andes. Of the 150 stockholders living in Peru, only three had ever seen the operation. In the many years of its existence these three came only once and spent only a few hours there. Operation decisions were left to the manager. That ownership and management status-roles may be separated in the case of large estates is well illustrated in this example.

The plantation and hacienda. Where family farms and larger holdings exist side by side, the smaller units are usually on the poorer soils. Studies made by the Area Research Center of Michigan State University and the Inter-American Institute of

Agricultural Sciences[18] show that in one area in Costa Rica agricultural production per acre on the family-sized farms was only one-third as great as on the *haciendas* in the same area. Even though the population density was the same, the level of living of those on family-sized holdings was not lower than that for most persons living on the *haciendas*. Only *hacienda* owners, managers, and a few others excelled the poorer family farmers. Besides, those living on the family-sized farms enjoyed the freedom and independence of being private entrepreneurs, that is, they were their own bosses.

Although there is a tendency for large estates to "swallow up" the good land surrounding them, Smith[19] has shown that whether or not an area becomes dominated by family farms or large estates, the economy is largely determined by early land division. The original non-family-sized farm operation in the United States was the plantation. Three cultural areas in the South—the Southeastern plantation, the Delta plantation, and the Southwestern plantation areas—are dominated by the plantation economy. How the plantation operates as a social system, and how it has dominated the regions has been described by Woofter and his collaborators. Woofter writes: "A plantation is defined . . . as a tract farmed by one owner or manager with five or more resident families. These may include the landlord, and laborers, share tenants, or renters. Except in the case of renters, the landlord exercises close supervision over operators, and except in the case of wage laborers each family cultivates a separate piece of land."[20] Woofter says that the typical plantation had fourteen families living on it. The average size of 646 plantations was 907 acres and each wage hand averaged forty-five acres and each tenant twenty-five acres.

Originally the plantation approached a self-contained community, with slaughter and storage houses, spinning rooms, gins, grist mills, and similar processing units. The work force was relatively stable. Class lines were sharply drawn, with relatively few in the middle and upper groups. The thinking, planning, and security patterns in such areas of the Cotton Belt depends upon the few owners and operators. This type of social system produces a large body of workers who are accustomed to having others initiate action. Workers can scarcely be expected to manifest great initiative. Most operations and decisions involve little resourcefulness or mental effort. Many never are involved in more complicated tasks than the use of a mule and a plow. Few engage in concerted and formal group activity such as that involved in the organization and operation of a cooperative. Most of the formal organizations that do exist are in the nature of fundamentalistic churches requiring little deliberation on the part of the group.

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[18] Charles P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), Chapters 13 and 14.

[19] T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 313-319.

[20] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation,* Res. Monog. V (Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936), p. 19.

Figure 15 is of special interest to those concerned with the administration of social systems. Although the organization grew out of the semi-feudal slave plantation, the formal organization chart indicating authority patterns does not differ essentially from charts representing authority patterns of factories. The resemblance may be limited, however, to the organization charts because in actual practice the factory and the plantation may operate quite differently.

The factory, of course, cannot be independent of the market and like all Gesellschaft-like enterprises has functionally specific status-roles, most of which are attained rather than ascribed. If non-rational or traditional norms are dominant, the factory in a market economy is not likely to survive. Under the conditions of the factory and modern factory farm, management usually has control over the workers only during working hours. On plantations and estates which are not governed by the economic strategy of highest profit combination, the control may be more diffuse and the responsibility of those in positions of authority for those under their control may be much greater. Commercialization and mechanization and the accompanying universalistic

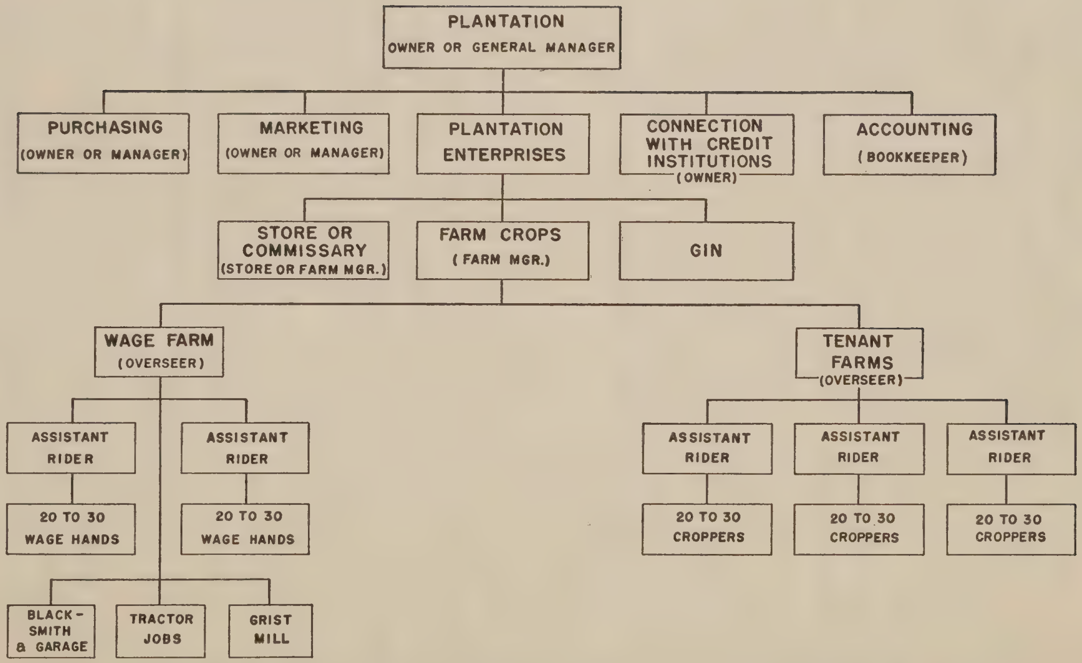
PLANTATION
OWNER OR GENERAL MANAGER
PURCHASING
(OWNER OR MANAGER)
MARKETING
(OWNER OR MANAGER)
PLANTATION
ENTERPRISES
CONNECTION
WITH CREDIT
INSTITUTIONS
(OWNER)
ACCOUNTING
(BOOKKEEPER)
STORE OR
COMMISSARY
(STORE OR FARM MGR.)
FARM CROPS
(FARM MGR.)
GIN
WAGE FARM
(OVERSEER)
TENANT
FARMS
(OVERSEER)
ASSISTANT
RIDER
20 TO 30
WAGE HANDS
ASSISTANT
RIDER
20 TO 30
WAGE HANDS
BLACK-
SMITH
& GARAGE
TRACTOR
JOBS
GRIST
MILL
ASSISTANT
RIDER
20 TO 30
CROPPERS
ASSISTANT
RIDER
20 TO 30
CROPPERS
ASSISTANT
RIDER
20 TO 30
CROPPERS

Figure 15. Organization of Enterprises on a Large and Closely-Supervised Plantation. (Adapted from T. J. Woofter, Jr., *et al.*, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Res. Monog. V. Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936, p. 27.)

norms bring functional specificity and affectual neutrality to the status-roles of large-scale agriculture. The social rank attached to status-roles in such situations depends largely upon performance.

A study by Leonard and Loomis[21] found the wage hands and the croppers of the Arkansas Delta to be highly mobile. Mobility frequently resulted in an attempt to improve living levels in spite of the fact that mobility is negatively correlated with the level of living. This study further indicated that owners pushed laborers and tenants off the plantation when it was advantageous for them to do so. Tenants and laborers, on the other hand, left in an attempt to better conditions. Mechanization and other forces continue to displace thousands.

OTHER NON-FAMILY-SIZED FARM TYPES

According to Eaton, "Cooperative group farming is indigenous to America. Although today it is practiced more widely in Russia, Mexico and Palestine, America was the principal location of its early development."[22] Although space does not permit an analysis of the various experiments and systems, these studies provide some of the most interesting and significant sociological literature. Unfortunately no studies of such groups have been made which analyze them as social systems. Analyses of family farms and *haciendas* as social systems in Latin America, however, have been made.[23] Most of the cooperative farms may be classified as follows: (1) joint cultivation associations; (2) cooperative corporation farms; or (3) communal villages.

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[21] C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), pp. 227-237. This study was published originally with Olen Leonard in *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (April, 1939).

[22] Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 207. For additional bibliography, see Joseph W. Eaton and Saul M. Katz, *Research Guide on Cooperative Group Farming* (New York: H. W. Wilson and Co., October, 1942).

[23] Loomis *et al.*, *Turrialba*, *op. cit.*, Chapters 1 and 5; and Thomas L. Norris, "Decision-Making in Relation to Property on a Costa Rica Coffee Estate," Michigan State College Ph.D. Dissertation (1952).

Joint cultivation associations. These associations bring the advantages of cooperative farming to families who remain individual family farmers but pool their machinery, land, livestock, and labor to produce collectively as a unit. These are common in areas recently brought under the domination of the Soviet Union. They were common in Russia during the period following the revolution but later most of them were transformed into *kolhozy*, a type of cooperative corporation. Some of the Mexican *ejidos* are joint cultivation associations, some English farms and many Jewish agricultural enterprises in Palestine, called *moshavei-ovdim,* are of this type.[24]

The cooperative corporation farm. This type of farm enterprise is owned or rented and operated jointly so that the returns are shared, usually in accordance with the work contributed. Most of the Russian agriculture is carried on in this form and most of the Mexican *ejidos* are of this type. Some land in Palestine is operated under this arrangement. In this type of system private property plays an important role, since the products of the group are divided and consumed by each family. In many instances the families own their own homes.

One of the most interesting accounts of a cooperative corporation farm is a description of the attempt of the United States Department of Agriculture to rehabilitate families, stranded during the depression, on a large irrigated farm near Casa Grande, Arizona. Banfield[25] attempts to use what he calls "Cooley's life study method" to describe *what* happened in such a way as to give insight into *why* it happened. Although the analysis is not made according to the categories used in this text as elements of social systems, it does provide evidence of their utility in understanding social processes.

What happened was that the Federal Government invested $1,000,000 and the time of expert farm managers, administrators, and home economists. Due to the war and prosperity, the material level of living of the families—mostly people from the drought-stricken western Cotton Belt—was raised beyond anything most of them had expected. Factionalism, based upon a bitter cleavage between the pro-government and the anti-government group, however, led to the liquidation of the project. The local lawyers who carried through the liquidation against governmental wishes received almost as much in proceeds as the settlers who had endured the anguish of frustration and conflict, and had put up with dictatorial officials. The project was a failure and as one settler put it, "We not only killed the goose that laid the golden egg, we even threw the . . . egg away."[26]

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[24] Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[25] Edward C. Banfield, *Government Project* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951).

Why did it happen? Tugwell, the administrator who was chiefly responsible for the project, says that "after almost two decades it seems to me that we were doomed to failure from the start."[27] The implication seemed to be that the culture and character of Americans lacked that which was needed for the success of this type of venture.

The following seem to be the salient reasons for failure:

1. Insufficient and shifting definition of the situation. The status-roles, norms, rights, and responsibilities for individuals and groups on the project were not explicit. Members played the roles of both employers and employees. The manager, although restricted to the members in the selection of foremen and supervisors, was expected to strive for efficiency and profits, and, especially during the latter period of the project, he was expected to make a democratic community and a true cooperative. "In the absence of conventions which would prescribe a 'right' way of looking at things, every man was forced to make up his own mind about the proprieties of almost every situation that arose."[28]

2. The lack of definition of the situation resulted in continuous struggle for power. Since incomes from the project were more or less equal, the only rewards left in the system were

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 11 (Foreword by Rexford G. Tugwell.)

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

those of position. At the bottom of the social scale were the migrant cotton picker "Okies" whom the local people regarded as an "inferior species." Those who had never had anything better generally sided with the foremen and other pro-government members, who were only slightly better off economically and socially. A system such as this left only one way for those little better off than the sharecroppers to gain power and prestige—to lead in the fight against the government. "The chief avenue to status in the project situation was power in the management of the farm. This power could be secured in one of two ways: it could be had by joining forces with the government and serving as a foreman or informally as a supporter of management or it could be had by leading or participating in an anti-government faction . . . the government officials made the mistake of supposing that the settlers would act rationally in the manner of economic men—"[29] In reality much of the struggle for power was "irrational," resulting from a need for power which the fluid nature of the project accentuated.

Although there have been many attempts to establish such cooperative farms in the United States, few have succeeded. The failure of the Casa Grande experiment throws in relief the necessity for administrators and planners to understand the basic nature of social systems and their elements. If new social systems with different value orientations and social structures are to be created, they must be articulated with the larger society.

Communal villages. In the communal villages, the importance of private property is eliminated. Need constitutes the basis for the division of earnings, and the villages are usually held together by strong religious bonds and ideology. Communal villages are most common in Palestine where they are called *kvutzoth*. These differ from the other systems of this type in that they are secular and, according to Eaton,[30] are the most successful group farms anywhere. Paradoxically such communities exist not in totalitarian nations but in the democracies.

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[30] Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

Before the Amana Society in eastern Iowa with its seven villages, communal farms, and factories reorganized to become the largest cooperative corporation farm in the United States with assets of over $2,445,000, it was a communal agricultural community which called itself the "Community of True Inspiration." As in the case of the Hutterites, the members of the Amana Society were a religious sect who came to America to avoid persecution and practiced a collective form of community ownership and operation of all property.[31]

The largest group of communal farmers living in the United States is the Hutterite settlement in southeastern South Dakota. Most of the Hutterite villages are now located in Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan where they migrated from the United States to avoid persecution carried on by local South Dakota vigilantes during the first World War. The first community was founded in 1528 in Moravia by a group of Anabaptists and pacifists who fled to escape the Peasants' Revolt in southern Germany and Switzerland. The group fled from Moravia to Slovakia, then to Hungary and Rumania, and finally to Russia. Some 250 immigrants established three communities in South Dakota between 1874 and 1879. At present there are fifty Hutterite communities in the United States and Canada with approximately 5,000 members.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE HUTTERITE SOCIAL SYSTEMS[32]

Ends and objectives. Although expressed ends are highly transcendental, the outsider is given the impression that preservation of the existing order is the most important goal. A classless society without individual income and property and the supporting structure and value orientation reinforce this goal. This objective leads to an extreme amount of energy and sacrifice in the interest of boundary maintenance of the group and its social system. The importance of material goods as an objective of life is denied. Of course, members do not deny that it is necessary to provide the minimum of material essentials of life. The farm enterprises involving dairying, producing grain for livestock feed, and baking bread support the main ends of the group.

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[31] For a discussion and bibliography, see Paul Honigsheim, "Rural Collectivities" in Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 825-850.

[32] Based upon Eaton, *op. cit.*, p. 218 ff.

Norms. Communication with the "sinful" world is restricted. Established taboos have the following results: Movies are not attended; secular books are not read; radios are not owned; and no one votes in governmental elections. Individual income and property are forbidden. Modes of clothing, housing, food, and most behavior are the same for all of the same age group and sex. Special privileges for the performance of roles having authority are kept at a minimum and are theoretically non-existent.

Status-roles. The preacher-manager is elected for life and is both a temporal and spiritual head. There are preachers, elders, a business manager, farm manager and councilmen, female kitchen and garden bosses, and male farm bosses for cattle, sheep, and hogs—all elected by popular oral vote. The same family roles prevalent in the Western nucleated family exist in the Hutterite family.

Power. The community preacher-manager, who is nominated by the people, voted upon by representatives from all the villages in the United States, and then selected by lot (God's will according to the Hutterites) is the chief decision-maker. The authority involved in this status-role varies from village to village. In some the preacher-manager handles spiritual, farm, and business affairs with the assistance of the farm and home bosses, elders, and other church officials. Money is handled by the business manager, who is supervised by the preacher-manager and the elder. The preacher-manager, assistant preacher, farm manager, and two additional members constitute an inner council, the members of which may check on one another and the other officials.

Social rank. Rank or standing depends upon embodiment of the ends of the group, industry, and the ability to perform the many jobs associated with farming, shoemaking, carpentry, etc.

Men have higher status than women and adults have higher status than children. "In the end all men are equal before God," the Hutterites say.

Sanctions. The most effective and only obvious negative sanction is the danger of having to leave the group. The most important and almost sole positive sanction is esteem by one's fellows and the promises of the hereafter.

Facilities. Individual property does not exist, and the land, machinery, and livestock are community property. Families are provided kitchenless apartments, the number of rooms being determined in accordance with the number of members. Members are supposed to eat in community kitchens, and work in and use goods produced in the community industries: the bakery, laundry, soap making room, creamery, blacksmith shop, carpentry shop, broom shop, shoe shop, and gristmill. Community facilities include the one-room schoolhouse, which also serves as the center of worship.

Territoriality. The location of the Hutterite communities in space has always featured the theme of the minority group persecuted by the "sinful" majority group. Isolation was sought by the original settlers and present members attempt to maintain it. Homes and farm buildings are usually grouped together.

SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE HUTTERITE COMMUNITY

Communication. As indicated previously, every effort is made to prevent communication with the "sinful" outside world. "They live in as complete isolation as possible and do not participate in the rights and duties of citizenship. They do not own radios, attend movies, read secular books, vote in elections . . ."[33] Interpersonal communication within the community is frequent and constant. Communal meals and work bring everyone together regularly.

Decision-making. As indicated previously, the preacher-manager makes most of the decisions. However, if there is a division of opinion concerning what should be done, the matter is discussed informally or a community meeting is called. Generally this is not necessary because administrators do what they know to be the "common will," based upon tradition and custom.

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Boundary maintenance. Group norms, taboos, and other devices serve to maintain solidarity and integration of the group. Individual property, distinctive dress, grooming, and contacts with the outside world (except as permitted and institutionalized) are tabooed. Integration and isolation seem to be ends in and of themselves. The group image of itself as a chosen people persecuted by the "sinful" outsiders is internalized by individuals. The few who leave the Hutterite community usually return, because they find adjustment to the outside very difficult.

COMMUNAL FARMS VS. OTHER FORMS

The Hutterite communities were reviewed to indicate how the structure and value orientation of these systems differ from those in capitalistic economies and elsewhere. The Hutterites attempt to follow the Biblical pattern outlined in Acts 2:44-45, "And all that believed were together, and had all things in common, and sold all their possessions and goods and parted them to all *men*, as every man had need." The Hutterite system makes communal existence, structured into one more or less exclusive social system, an end in and of itself. Outsiders find life in the system intolerably dull because it is the communal system, not the individual or separate sub-systems such as families and associations, that is important. Relationships are Gemeinschaft-like with emphasis on first the community and then the family. Cultural standards and norms emphasize the collective, not the individual. Responsibility of the individual is broad and diffuse, having few of the specific, limited characteristics of individuals in bureaucracies; love and affectivity in interpersonal relationships is not only permitted but enjoined by the scriptures. Although the Biblical injunctions followed are universalistic in nature, the groups are small and the particular "needs" of the individual are stressed and met. Except for the higher ascribed rank accorded males, social rank is determined not by birth or ascription but by performance and achievement.

On a corporation farm or plantation which is more Gesellschaft-like, the standards stress specificity, neutral affectivity, and achievement. Only in the case of achievement, as opposed to ascription, are the communities of the Hutterites and the corporation farms similar. In both cases achievement is emphasized but perhaps less so in the case of large estates than among the Hutterites.

The Hutterite community is used to highlight some of the differences to be found in types of farm organization. The Gemeinschaft-like structure of the Hutterite community is shown to contrast sharply with the more Gesellschaft-like structure of the plantation, corporation farm, or large estate. The family farm enterprise, characteristic of American agriculture, falls between the two extremes. However, it bears more resemblance to the Hutterite pattern than to the plantation pattern.

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6

Hierarchical Social Systems

In all societies there are differences in the social rank, standing, or honor accorded various groups and individuals. The social rank or honor accorded depends upon the standards which are rooted in the values of the social system. These standards form the basis of an evaluating process whereby each system and each member attains a certain social standing. In a given community there are usually many reference groups that provide their members social rank and honor. The members of some systems devote much time and effort to this evaluation process and its maintenance.

The proverb "There is no honor among thieves" is only true if the thieves do not belong to a social system, for each group has its rank or honor system. In a rural community a gang of cattle rustlers may accord ranks to its members that contrast sharply with that accorded them by other community members. In speaking of social rank, therefore, it is always necessary to specify the social system which is the referent.[1] Unfortunately many of the studies of social rank are not as specific in this respect as they should be.

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[1] Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross, and William H. Sewell, "Social Stratification in Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (March, 1953), pp. 12-24.

HIERARCHICAL GROUPS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

In the preceding chapters and those to follow, social rank has been treated as an element of social systems. In this chapter, at the risk of doing violence to the organizational framework of the book, we are attempting to view primarily hierarchical groups as social systems. While we are aware of the logical difficulties arising from this decision, the importance of social stratification to social science has dictated our choice. To treat hierarchical social systems, however, is not unjustified.[2]

In discussing stratification, Sorokin poses the question as to whether or not there is a "specific multibonded group, different from the family, tribe, caste, order, or nation, that in modern times has exerted a powerful influence." His answer is yes, and he suggests that we may have to call it "X" to avoid confusion. "There has been and is such a group. Its formula is as follows: It is (1) legally open, but actually semiclosed; (2) 'normal'; (3) solidary; (4) antagonistic to certain other groups (social classes) of the same general nature, X; (5) partly organized but mainly quasi-organized; (6) partly aware of its own unity and existence and partly not; (7) characteristic of the western society of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries; (8) a multibonded group bound together by two unibonded ties, occupational and economic (both taken in their broad sense), and by one bond of social stratification in the sense of the totality of its essential rights and duties as contrasted with essential different rights and duties of other groups (social classes) of the same general nature, X."[3]

It is Sorokin's judgment that from a "macroscopic viewpoint" the following major classes in the Western society of the past two or three centuries may be observed: "(a) the industrial-labor, or proletarian, class; (b) the peasant-farmer class; (c) the dwindling class of large landowners; (d) the capitalistic class, now being transformed into the managerial class."[4] These each have subclasses and there are other smaller classes. Others[5] have described "status aggregates," which are not closed systems but nonetheless function to maintain ranking or standing. It is such aggregates that we treat as social systems in this chapter.

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[2] Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 271 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

SOCIAL RANK SYSTEMS

Caste, estate, and open-class as a continuum. Although every social system evaluates its members and is evaluated by the larger system of which it is a part, certain social systems are more actively engaged in according and maintaining social rank than others. At one extreme there are the caste systems, which use various sanctions to prevent individuals from leaving the groups into which they are born. The most extreme example of caste is to be found in India where over a period of twenty centuries there has existed "the most thorough-going attempt known in human history to introduce inherited inequality as the guiding principle in social relationships."[6] Endogamous relations, restricted occupation, segregation, special dress, and special food requirements are among the characteristics of caste systems.

Estates. No Western nation has a true caste system that places persons at birth into positions above which they cannot climb or below which they cannot fall. The social stratification system of Europe, of areas in Latin America, and of the Eastern world, however, places persons in broad classes or estates which may be changed or into which persons may be allowed to pass according to fixed rules and rites of passage. Sons of peons and

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[5] See Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (April, 1953), pp. 149-162.

[6] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 377.

serfs have been known to achieve high social rank, but such is not the rule. The different estates, or *staende,* as they are called in Germany, specify the roles, rights, privileges, and responsibilities of members, and institutionalize the means of entry or expulsion by a kind of ritual. Social rank is largely ascribed but less completely than in a caste system.[7] The estates are usually associated with hereditary nobility, freemen, and serfs. The system is known only in relatively rural societies and seems to have been broken down by the growth of modern business, commerce, and industry.

Open-class. As used here, a truly open-class system is a theoretically possible system in which all persons find their places according to the skills and technical competence they possess. Urban cultures usually possess more features of the open-class system than the surrounding rural cultures. Where the open-class system prevails, such considerations as the family into which one is born, "color or previous condition of servitude," class position, age, sex, and similar factors have no bearing on one's status, except insofar as they may enhance or interfere with one's technical competence in performing the duties required by one's role in the larger society.

No completely open-class society exists, but of all the societies of the world, the whites in the United States, particularly in urban centers and commercialized farming areas, probably come nearest to having an open-class system.[8] Actually, there is good evidence to indicate that if such a society were to exist, the family would be very weak. If men, women, and children were ranked solely on the basis of their competence, the family system would have difficulty maintaining a uniform ranking system. The women who outrank their husbands, or children who outrank their parents, are not likely to submit to the authority of persons whom they outrank.[9] Where the productive and kinship systems are one and the same, as in the family farm economy, conflicts involved in various standards of rank for the two systems must be reconciled. In rural society this is frequently done by giving the family status-roles greater importance than others.

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[7] See Ferdinand Toennies, *Staende und Klassen* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1931), pp. 617-638. Here Toennies characterizes the estate as being a *Gemeinschaft*-like collective and class as *Gesellschaft*-like. See also Max Weber's treatment of these status groups: Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesselschaft* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1922), pp. 130-140, 179-180, and 724-752.

[8] John F. Cuber, *Sociology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947), pp. 374-375.

Caste in the United States. Figure 16 shows Warner's[10] schematic portrayal of the class and caste system in the Cotton Belt, where approximately one-third of the farm population of the nation lives. Since approximately one-third of the total population in this region is Negro, it is of particular importance to un-

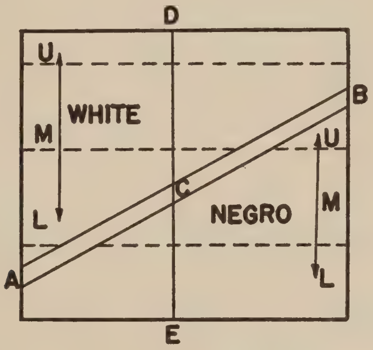

Figure 16. Warner's Schematic Diagram of Class and Caste in America. The diagonal lines (AB) separate the Negro from the white caste. The dashed lines within each caste distinguish Upper (U), Middle (M), and Lower (L) classes. The line (DE) indicates a hypothetical position to which the diagonal (AB) may move. Source: W. Lloyd Warner, "American Class and Caste." *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XLII, No. 2, September 1936, pp. 234-237.)

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[9] Parsons indicates that the relatively low rank of women in the occupational world, despite the various opposing movements, persists as society's attempt to preserve the family. Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XLV, No. 6 (May, 1940), pp. 841-862.

[10] W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. XLII, No. 2 (September, 1936), pp. 234-237. See also Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 519, and C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 353 ff.

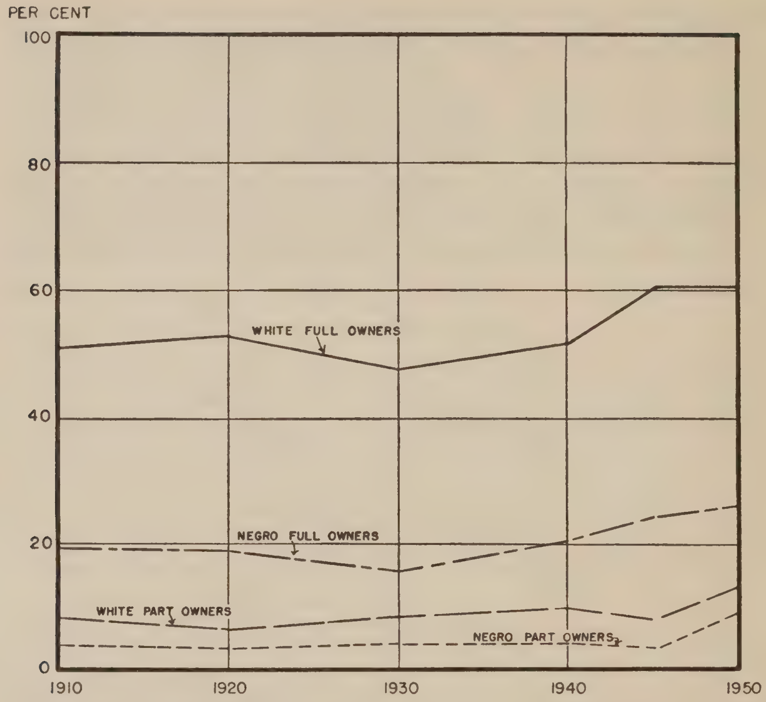

Figure 17. Percentages of Full Owners and Part Owners in the South by Color, 1910-1950. (Source: United States Census of Agriculture.)

derstand the bases for social ranking and stratification in the South.

It may be noted that a diagonal bar separates the Negro and white castes in Figure 16. The arrangement of this bar expresses the restrictions that separate the two castes. The more restrictions are removed, the more bar *AB* will move on the axis *C* until it approximates the vertical line *DE*. If the restrictions are increased and if the Negro's rights and privileges are decreased so that no Negro group, not even those who had the highest rank in the community, are higher than the lowest white group, then the bar *AB* would become horizontal, with only Negroes below and only whites above.

Although many argue that improved social rank among Negroes has been gained too slowly, the evidence indicates that gains have been made.[11] In rural areas of the South as shown in Figure 17, an increasing proportion of Negro farmers have become full and part owners. In 1930, approximately 20 per cent were full and part owners of farms; in 1950, the percentage had increased to 35 per cent. The proportions of Negroes in professional, technical, and related occupations are increasing. This group serves as the pace-setter for those rural groups that are rising in the social structure. In 1950, 3.3 per cent of the Negro population fourteen years old or over and employed was classed as professional, technical, and kindred workers. This represents a substantial percentage gain over previous decades. Although the Supreme Court decision concerning segregation in the schools can scarcely be expected to end it immediately, there is no doubt that it has improved, and will continue to improve, the educational opportunities of the Negro.

TYPE OF ENTERPRISE AND PATTERNS OF STRATIFICATION

Although many reference systems are important in determining the social rank of individuals and groups, the production systems which have primacy in a society are always important in determining the basic pattern of stratification. Thus, a society dominated by large agricultural enterprises involving many families whose chief function is that of providing labor and not in any way related to the management or entrepreneurial function, will have a different type of stratification pattern than a society in which the family farm is the unit of production. In Chapter 2, dealing with the community, we indicated that societies having the large agricultural operation as the most common production unit are likely to be located in "power-centered" rural communities. In societies in which the family farm has primacy, the communities are characterized as "power-diffused."[12]

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[11] *Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic Status* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin 1119, 1952). The most appreciable increase among employed Negro men between 1940 and 1950 were in the occupational groups of clerical workers, craftsmen, and operatives.

Stratification in "power-centered" communities. The basic pattern of stratification or social ranking in a community made up of large estates is not essentially different from that of an army, a factory, or college in which the authority relations of those in control are constantly articulated through the structure. In rural societies dominated by the large agricultural enterprise, at least three distinct classes, all of which are separate sub-systems, can be discerned. At the top is the very small proprietary class receiving the greatest honor and respect and having the greatest power. Next to the proprietary class is a somewhat larger stratum composed of the supervisors, professionals, artisans, and some skilled workers. Beneath this stratum is the large group of families which furnishes the unskilled labor for the large estate. Usually this group constitutes more than three-fourths of the total population. Although in rural societies there is considerable informal interaction not directly related to the articulation of the authority structure of the system, the classes constitute sub-systems in that more interaction takes place among families within each system than among families across class lines.

Figure 18 represents an attempt to generalize the pattern of stratification in rural societies where large agricultural enterprises are dominant. In the United States the rural areas in which this pattern prevails are the plantation areas of the Cotton Belt and the "factory farm" areas of the Western Specialty-Crop region. Power-centered rural areas prevail in Central and South America, with the exception of the highlands of Costa Rica, the highlands of Antioquia in Colombia, Middle Chile, and the three southern states of Brazil.[13]

[12] Studies of stratification in areas of Latin America in which family-sized farm communities exist near those of large estates lead to this characterization. For analyses of rural communities with these differences, see C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), Chapter 3.

[13] See Preston James, *Latin America* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1942), p. 828.

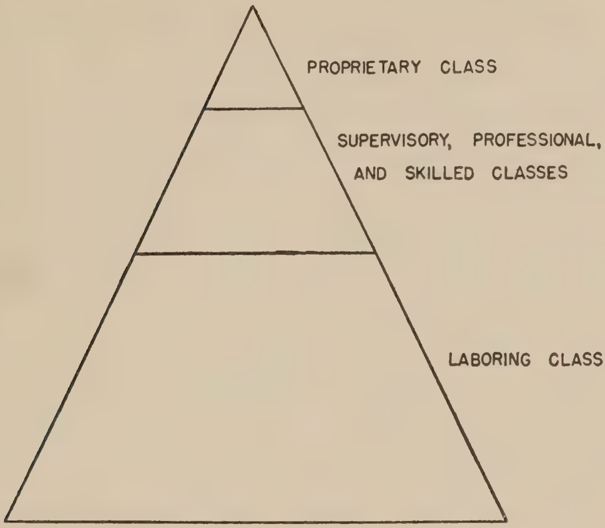

Figure 18. Generalized and Simplified Diagram of the Class Structure of Rural Neighborhood Communities in Which Large Non-Family Agricultural Enterprises Are Dominant. (Based upon studies reported in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba.* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, Chapter 3. The interaction, clique, and stratification patterns are described in a sociogram depicting communication as related to ranking.)

In post-World War II adjustments, both the Western powers and the communist countries attempted to alter the structure of power-centered agricultural communities. The Western powers sought to divide the large estates into holdings small enough to be family-sized farms, thus effecting greater power diffusion. As a step in collectivization, communists sometimes divided the land into very small units, too small to support a family, and made the families dependent upon machine centers and other points of control. The evidence available suggests that communism can most easily spread in rural societies in which either the large estate predominates or where dwarf family holdings are common. Certainly in pre-Nazi Germany the rural areas in which communism had any strength were those dominated by large estates, whereas Nazism spread more rapidly in areas in which communities of family-sized farms prevailed.[14]

In general, American rural sociologists support a system of agriculture based upon the family farm. Seventy-one per cent of the rural sociologists as compared with 41 per cent of the agricultural economists agreed to the following statement: "The small family-sized farm, operated by an owner-farmer even though he has only a small cash income, should be the goal of American agriculture."[15] In this respect the rural sociologists

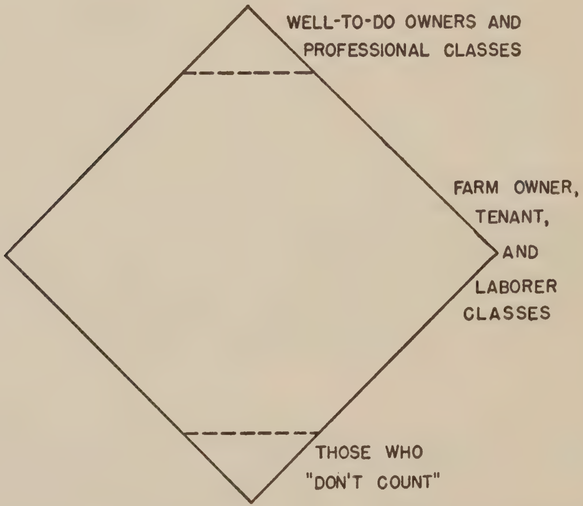

Figure 19. Generalized and Simplified Diagram of the Class Structure of Rural Neighborhood Communities in Which the Family-Farm is the Dominant Agricultural Enterprise. (As in Figure 18, based upon studies reported in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, Chapter 3. The interaction, clique and stratification patterns are described by a sociogram depicting communication as related to ranking.)

[14] Charles P. Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950), Chapters 20 and 22. See especially Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 2, No. 6 (December, 1946), pp. 724-734.

[15] Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), p. 7.

agree with Jefferson who observed that the yeomen or small farmers are the most independent citizens.

Stratification in areas dominated by the family-sized farm.[16] Figure 19 describes stratification as revealed by studies of power diffused communities. Few families in such areas come under the authority of the larger production system as do families on *haciendas* or large estates.

Note that in Figure 19 the lines separating the hypothetical strata are shown by a dotted line. This is to indicate that in the case of family-sized farming areas the system on which ranking is based is less definite and that interaction among families at various levels is great. In general, families at the top are large, well-to-do owners who interact as equals with the professional and business families in the trade centers. Some are "gentlemen farmers." Families in the upper part of the diagram hold offices of importance in the counties in which they live and help control the schools, churches, and other formal organizations. The families at the bottom of the diagram are usually laborers and poorer families. Usually there are some families in this group who are considered by the classes above them to "live like animals." They may be accused of stealing, lack of cleanliness, and shiftlessness. Between the families at the bottom and the top of the diagram are the majority of families in American rural society. They consider themselves to be the good, honest, self-respecting, average, everyday working people.[17] Usually it is people from this class who support the churches, farm organizations, and larger social systems of rural America. Kaufman[18] found that when families in a New York rural community were rated by their "standing," "reputation," or "respect," the result was a form not unlike Figure 19. Although the people have different rank, as is indicated by the diagram, there is considerable interaction between all levels. Various studies participated in by the authors have led them to conclude that there is generally no rigid class structure in communities of family-sized farms such as is found in communities of large estates.[19] Since it was this type of society out of which the Agricultural Extension Service developed, it is not difficult to understand why attempts to transplant it without alteration to underdeveloped areas with an entirely different stratification system have often met with little success.

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[16] The authors have described social stratification in rural communities of the various regions of the United States in *Rural Social Systems, op. cit.*, Chapter 11.

[17] James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 117.

[18] Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community* (Ithaca: Cornell AES Memoir 260; March, 1944), p. 39.

SOCIAL RANK AND TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS

In the discussion of the family, it was contended that the rural family in America increasingly shares the attributes of the urban middle class family, and that it is losing its earlier neighborhood-kinship basis of integration. Figure 20 represents an attempt to describe the American rural community pattern of interaction between status classes in settlement areas of the isolated holding or non-village types. The scale indicates that the large farmers, estate owners, and business and professional groups in towns travel long distances to maintain contact with their friends and relatives. The family farmers and white collar workers travel shorter distances, but the interaction patterns of the friendship groups may be depicted graphically as chains of relationships. The farm laborer and unskilled worker classes are transient, but the range of interaction within an area is similar to the class immediately above them.

Figure 20 is simplified in order to describe the interaction between town and country groups. The visiting patterns would resemble other types of interaction patterns, such as that of borrowing or exchanging work. The family-sized farmers, for example, may be expected to join in various types of cooperative

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[19] See Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba*, *op. cit.*, and "Social Status and Communication in Costa Rican Rural Communities," in Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), pp. 183 ff.

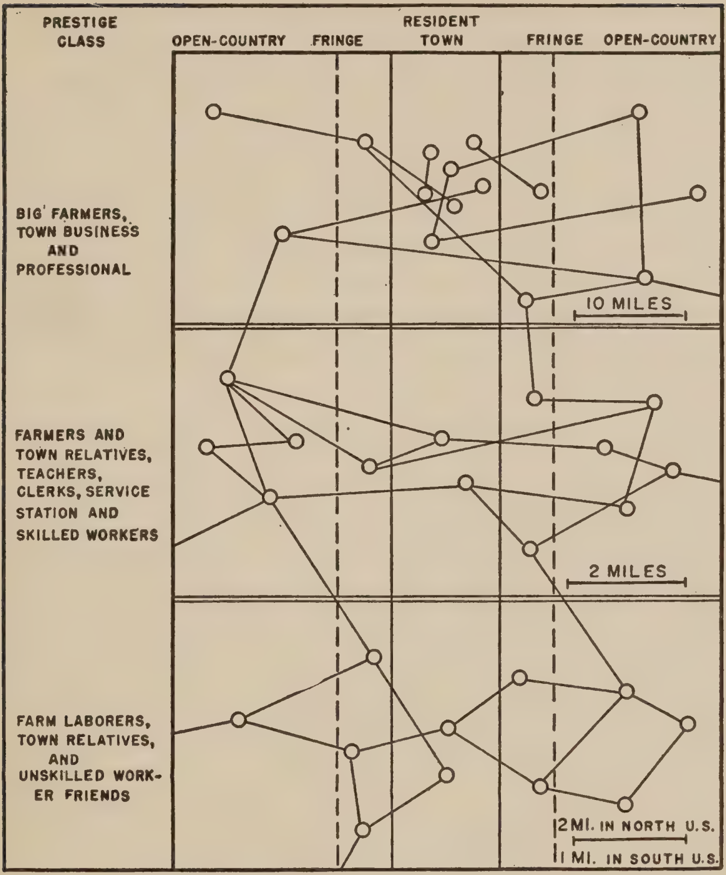
PRESTIGE CLASS
OPEN-COUNTRY
FRINGE
RESIDENT TOWN
FRINGE
OPEN-COUNTRY
BIG FARMERS, TOWN BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL
10 MILES
FARMERS AND TOWN RELATIVES, TEACHERS, CLERKS, SERVICE STATION AND SKILLED WORKERS
2 MILES
FARM LABORERS, TOWN RELATIVES, AND UNSKILLED WORKER FRIENDS
2 MI. IN NORTH U.S.
1 MI. IN SOUTH U.S.

Figure 20. Schematic Diagram Showing Prestige Class in Relation to Visiting Patterns. (Source: C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950, p. 370.)

activity, such as silo filling or bean harvest. Such interaction is, of course, confined largely to farmers. However, these same farmers may have relatives and friends in town. They may also interact with a few fringe dwellers—persons living outside the town limits and deriving their incomes largely from nonfarm sources.

Because fringe area families often range from the very lowest to the very highest in social rank,[20] a relatively good index of the prestige level of farm families is the level of the families with whom they associate in the fringe. Of course, many family-sized farmers have no interaction with nonfarm neighbors in the fringe. Because of the high rates of rural-urban migration, large numbers of people with farm backgrounds live in towns and fringe areas. In general, children of the family-sized farmer of the middle prestige group associate with children of various classes, especially those who have become teachers, mechanics, clerks, filling station operators, and the lesser white collar workers. Most of these groups are striving to climb the social ladder. Farmers who associate with them may be local leaders who are anxious to improve their social and economic status.[21]

The large farmers, plantation operators, gentlemen farmers, and estate operators, in general, are the highest prestige group in the rural communities. They associate with the business and professional or upper white collar groups of the town and fringe. A given family may have intimate visiting contacts that take it over an entire state and even beyond. The farmers in this group do not usually engage in the type of cooperative activity practiced among the family-sized farmers. Such large farmers may be county-wide leaders and belong to many formal organizations in which they may hold office. They may not know the family-sized farmers in the friendship groups in their neighborhood areas as well as they know town people. Through their wide contacts, they are among the first to try new methods or to know of new facilities available in the trade center.

In the upper rural classes, much joining and social participation in formal organizations occur. Bee[22] found that high income was associated with favorable attitudes toward the community, toward offices held, and toward membership in organizations and meetings attended. Forsyth[23] found high rank associated with an adverse attitude toward relief. In some parts of the country tenants tend to fall into the lower classes and owners into the upper classes.[24] Buck and Ploch[25] found that in a rural Pennsylvania community the lower classes participate in Pentecostal type churches. The farm laborers, sharecroppers, and others similarly employed, when unrelated by blood ties to landlords, occupy low positions throughout the United States.

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[20] Richard R. Myers and J. Allan Beegle, "Delineation and Analysis of the Rural-Urban Fringe," *Applied Anthropology,* Vol. VI, No. 2 (Spring, 1947), pp. 14-22. See also Walter Firey, *Social Aspects of Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 339; June, 1946).

[21] *Group Action in Soil Conservation, Upper Mississippi Valley Region III* (Milwaukee: Soil Conservation Service; March, 1947).

THE FUNCTION OF SOCIAL RANK

The evaluative process which results in variations in social rank permits social systems to reward groups and individuals in accordance with the utility and scarcity of their services. There are no systems in which certain activities or qualities are not rewarded in accordance with their social value, that is, their utility and scarcity to the system. This makes it possible to recruit people of the necessary ability and training for the various status-roles in society and to reward them in accordance with the importance of their status-roles and the effectiveness of their role performance.

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[22] L. S. Bee, "Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community," *State College of Washington Research Studies,* Vol. IX (1941), pp. 37-48. See also, W. A. Anderson, *The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations* (Ithaca: Cornell AES Bulletin 695; April, 1938), pp. 13-17; and E. J. Brown, *Elements Associated with Activity and Inactivity in Formal Organizations* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, doctoral dissertation, 1952).

[23] F. H. Forsyth, "Social Crisis and Social Attitude Toward Relief," *Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. XVIII (August, 1943), pp. 55-69.

[24] E. A. Schuler, "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. III, No. 1 (March, 1938), pp. 20-33; and Walter L. Slocum, *The Influence of Tenure Status Upon Rural Life* (Brookings: South Dakota AES Circular 39; May, 1942).

[25] Roy C. Buck and Louis A. Ploch, *Factors Related to Changes in Social Participation in a Pennsylvania Rural Community* (State College: Pennsylvania AES Bulletin 582; August, 1954).

The social ranking mechanisms also have the function of making those in important status-roles more conspicuous than others, thus forcing greater responsibility upon them for conforming to certain norms. Of course, the rewards for individuals placed in important status-roles may be in the form of rights to ignore some norms. Although there may be a certain element of truth in the saying "The king can do no wrong," nevertheless, when he does violate the norms, more people are likely to learn about the violation because of its importance to them and because of his conspicuousness.

When the social system is considered as a "going concern," social ranking systems have a very important function which is often overlooked. This function is that of assuring maximum effectiveness of communication within systems and sub-systems. The ease with which people communicate both information and feelings is dependent in large part upon similarities of experience, aspirations, and backgrounds. Certainly, friends and kinfolk can usually communicate with each other most concerns of life based on common experiences and feelings more easily than they can with strangers. Usually, people feel more at ease and derive greater satisfaction from participation with those who understand and sympathize with them. The foregoing may be symbolized by the often used expression applied to newcomers almost everywhere, namely, "Make yourself at home." What is really meant is "Formalities aren't necessary; be comfortable and feel as secure as though you were in your own home." Of course, security and comfort depend upon understanding and common expectancy patterns.

Through boundary maintenance mechanisms, large systems such as nations, factories, and large scale agricultural operations provide means whereby relatively intensive interaction among equals can take place. In this way, the larger system, containing many homogeneous sub-systems of varying ranks, can move toward its general objectives. In settings in which people from various backgrounds and various social ranks must interact, people cannot "feel at home" as they can in familistic Gemeinschaft-like settings. For example, in foreign embassy receptions, where people from many cultures and social systems must interact, tolerable expectancy patterns are forced upon the participants by various institutionalized formalities of speech, action, and behavior. At any time when persons of different rank must interact, the situation must be formal and the invitation "make yourself at home" becomes a hollow gesture.

SOCIAL RANK OF FARM FAMILIES

In most societies of the world, farm or peasant families have relatively low social rank. As Nelson[26] has remarked, the farmer's or peasant's status in the Western world is often characterized in derogatory terms carrying connotations of slavery and serfdom. In most societies, when the support of the people from the countryside is sought, politicians and others talk of the "embattled farmer" or call him the "backbone" of the nation. But even in the United States this is apparently praise with ulterior motives.

In a comprehensive nation-wide evaluation of ninety occupations the farm owner and operator was placed thirty-ninth with railroad engineer, county agricultural agent, and public school teacher in the three positions immediately above.[27] Farm laborers rated slightly above service workers (except domestic and protective) and laborers (except farm workers). As would be expected in a survey of this type, members of each occupation recommended their own occupation. However, "farmers were the best boosters of their own profession; 33 per cent of them recommended agriculture as a career." Also people in rural and small towns gave higher ratings to farm owners than people living in other centers.

No one would explain the relatively low status of the farm and peasant families of the world in terms of their lack of importance to society. All will agree that few occupations are more important than those which supply food and fiber. Neither can the low status of agriculture be explained on the basis of the knowledge or skill required. Any urbanite accustomed to shifting among urban occupations would find that farming, particularly the managerial and entrepreneurial functions, requires great knowledge and skill, despite the fact that much is learned by apprenticeship.

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[26] Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1949), p. 210.

[27] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949), pp. 464 ff.

Census Bureau reports indicated that in 1950, median family income of those living on farms was $1,970, as compared with $3,673 for families living in urban areas. The average tax, per return, in the five most urban states was between one third and one half higher than in the five most rural states. In terms of most institutional services coming to farm families they are disadvantaged.

Various studies have shown that children of farm families, in terms of IQ's or school grades, make lower scores than children of some other groups in society, notably professionals.[28] Farm children in general have access to poorer educational facilities than nonfarm children. Furthermore, testing does not usually present an opportunity for the farm-reared child to demonstrate the knowledge and ability gained from his farm experience.

LAND TENURE AND SOCIAL RANK

By land tenure is meant the customary and legal rights in land. Social rank, of course, is closely related to the type of tenure relations a given individual has in land. The owner of a large estate who has the right to use or dispose of his land at will and who controls the lives of those attached to the land ordinarily outranks the peon who has fewer rights in the land.

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[28] For a review and listing of several of these studies, see Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 209 and 210.

In all agricultural societies there are various status-role designations related to variations in the rights to use and control land.[29]

Early land tenure. Various social ranks existed in medieval European rural society from which our own tenure system evolved. One group consisted of slaves who could be sold. Another group, serfs, such as cotters and villeins, had certain land rights and, although they could be transferred with the estate, their status remained the same. Still other landed classes were the lesser gentry, the nobility, and royalty.[30] One's tenure rank or relation to the land determined the conditions of marriage, the services and payments one was expected to render, and the conditions under which one could leave the estate.[31]

Most Americans are so accustomed to land held under fee simple that they do not understand other systems. Although efforts were made to establish feudal tenure systems in Maryland, the Carolinas, and New York, for example, such attempts did not survive and disappeared after the American Revolution.[32]

Land tenure in the United States. As shown in Figure 21, the proportion of farms operated by tenants is high in the Cotton and Corn Belts. Tenancy rates are lowest in the Dairy and Range-Livestock Areas. In 1950, the percentage of tenancy had declined to 26.8 per cent. High tenancy rates—all over 40 per cent—were reported in the Cotton Belt states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Low tenancy rates—all less than five per cent—were restricted to the New England

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[29] Irvine remarks that in most rural places of medieval Europe there was "no place for a landless man." All persons who had any rights were related to the land through some tenure status. Helen D. Irvine, *The Making of Modern Europe* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1923), pp. 11-22.

[30] Irvine estimates that in 1300, two-thirds of the population of England were villeins. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[31] For the situation in England see George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the 13th Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 232-252.

[32] Irving Mark, "Agrarian Conflicts in New York and the American Revolution," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. VII, No. 3 (September, 1942), pp. 275-293.

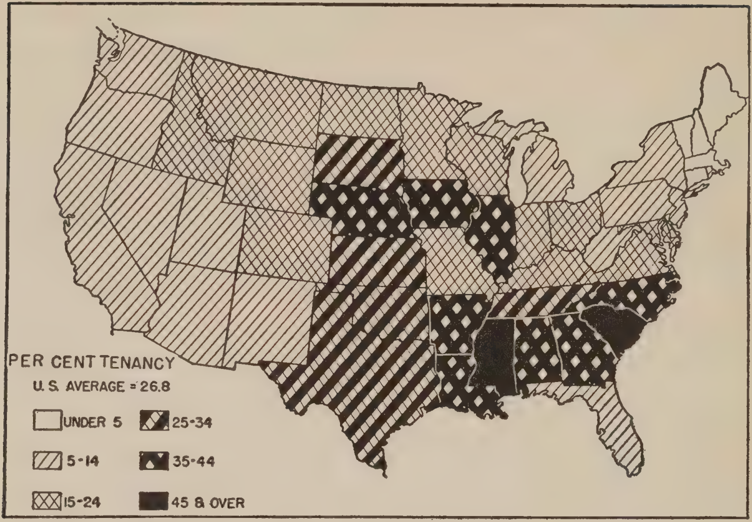

Figure 21. Percentage of All Farms Operated by Tenants, by State, 1950. (Source: United States Census of Agriculture, 1950, Vol. 2.)

states of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. All other areas fell between these extremes in tenancy. The Corn Belt states of Illinois and Iowa, for example, reported tenancy rates of 34.6 per cent and 38.2 per cent, respectively.

Commercialization and tenancy. Although tenancy rates have declined throughout the United States, the more commercialized the farming enterprise, the higher the tenancy rates tend to be.[33] Two major categories of farms, namely, "commercial farms" and "other farms," were distinguished in 1950. Commercial farms including all farms selling products valued at $1,200 or more in 1949 (except "abnormal farms") were subdivided into six groups. Classified according to the value of farm products sold, they are: I–$25,000 or more; II–$10,000-$24,999; III–

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[33] Smith indicates that this association does not hold in the Cotton Belt due to a faulty classification of tenants and wage hands. T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 284.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS, BY VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD AND DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS BY TENURE CLASS, FOR ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, U.S., 1950

Economic Class of Farm	*Per cent of farms*	*Per cent by value of farm products sold*	*Per Cent by Tenure Class*				
			Total	*Full Owners*	*Part Owners*	*Managers*	*Tenants*
ALL FARMS	100.0	100.0	100.0	57.5	15.6	0.4	26.5
COMMERCIAL FARMS	68.9	97.5	100.0	48.9	19.7	0.5	30.9
Class I ($25,000 or more)	1.9	26.0	100.0	36.4	39.0	6.4	18.2
Class II ($10,000-$24,999)	7.1	24.8	100.0	37.7	32.1	1.5	28.7
Class III ($5,000-$9,999)	13.4	22.7	100.0	43.5	26.1	0.7	29.7
Class IV ($2,500-$4,999)	16.4	14.4	100.0	50.0	19.8	0.2	30.0
Class V ($1,200-$2,499)	16.8	7.3	100.0	52.8	14.2	0.1	32.9
Class VI ($250-$1,199)	13.3	2.3	100.0	55.8	10.5	0.1	33.6
OTHER FARMS	31.1	2.5	100.0	76.4	6.7	0.2	16.7
Part-Time	11.9	1.8	100.0	72.2	9.5	0.1	18.2
Residential	19.1	0.4	100.0	79.3	4.9	—	15.8
Abnormal	0.1	0.3	100.0	19.8	3.2	68.7	8.3

SOURCE: Bureau of Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture*, "Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, Chapter XII, Table 1.

\$5,000-\$9,999; IV—\$2,500-\$4,999; V—\$1,200-\$2,499; and VI—\$250-\$2,199.[34]

Essential data concerning the relation of tenure to economic class of farm are shown in Table 7. Note that the percentage of tenants is greater for commercial than for other farms (30.9 per cent and 16.7 per cent, respectively). Furthermore, within the classes of commercial farms, the percentage of farms operated by full-owners increases as the value of farm products sold decreases. It is interesting to note that classes I and II, the most commercialized farms, comprise only nine per cent of all farms but account for half the value of farm products sold.

In his discussion of factors associated with tenancy, Smith[35] treats a number of conditions related to commercialization of farming. First, he says, types of farming which require large investments and do not yield quick returns are associated with ownership. Annual crops that are easily marketed and require little capital investment are produced by tenants. Second, tenancy is related to high land values, according to Smith. In addition, when leases are short-term, tenancy is associated with poorly attended and supported social institutions.

Land as a value in and of itself. The more the land is used as a means of making money rather than as a value in and of itself, the more it will be misused. The tenancy rate is likely to be higher, and the equity of farm operators in the land will be smaller. As Firey[36] has shown, land can be the symbol of group integration and social status in a large city. Beacon Hill, a residential area of upper-class Bostonians, should have changed to commercial uses from an economic point of view. Group solidarity has held this residential area intact, even though it is an area which ordinarily would have been given over to business. Through zoning and other devices available to the upper class, the area retains such characterizations as "this sacred eminence," "stately old-time appearance," and "age-old quaintness and charm."

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[34] Farms with value of products sold between \$250 and \$1,199 are classed as "commercial farms" if the operator worked off his farm less than 100 days during the year and if the income of the operator and his family from nonfarm sources was less than the value of all farm products sold. See R. L. Skrabanek, "Commercial Farming in the United States," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 19, No. 2 (1954), pp. 136-142.

[35] Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 291-296.

[36] Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

In most peasant and noncommercial agricultural economies, land has a value other than its profit potential. Land often provides the basis for the social rank of all related to it. There are still some areas in the United States in which farm land means more than other tools of production having equal cost. Kollmorgen[37] has shown that the old-order Amish place a high value on land near the center of their settlement, and the true Amish farmer hopes to be able to buy farms for all his sons near the center. Peripheral areas, although having comparable fertility and other economic advantages, are usually worth much less than the lands at the center of the Amish settlement, away from the evil influences of the "gay" and "worldly."

Hired labor. Farm operators and their families account for approximately four-fifths of all agricultural workers. The extent to which agriculture differs from other industries is emphasized by the fact that over half of all farm workers are self-employed, that is, farm operators. In most other industries, the majority of the workers are employees. Of the total number of non-operators working on farms, about half are hired laborers and half unpaid members of the farm operator's family. In no other important industry is there as large a proportion of unpaid family workers. In agriculture, unpaid family workers amount to about one-fifth of the total working force. Two-thirds of the farmers who hire laborers hire only a few and for a short time. Such farmers, plus those who hire no labor at all, operate five-sixths of the nation's farms. One-sixth of the country's farms accounted for over 90 per cent of all hired farm labor in 1945 and 1946. Only about one per cent of the farmers in 1945 hired as many as the equivalent of five or more man-years.

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[37] Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.D.A., 1942).

Studies show that the large operators pay higher wages and require shorter hours of work for both seasonal and year-round laborers than small operators. This is important, since seven-tenths of all hired workers were working on farms which employed four or more workers each as of September 1945. Almost half of all farm wage workers were employed in crews. Ducoff writes: "Thus, for the majority of persons who do farm wage work, relations with their employers are as depersonalized as they are in non-agricultural industries, even though this is not the case for some fraction of the year-round hired workers, and for some workers who are related by blood or marriage to the farm operator. . . . Often a labor contractor acts as an intermediary agent, eliminating entirely direct contact between grower and worker."[38]

About four out of ten farms report using hired labor, most

TABLE 8

SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT OF HIRED WORKERS, BY DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1953

Geographic Division	*March 22—28*	*June 21—27*	*September 20—26*	*December 20—26*
			(In thousands)	
United States	1,353	2,579	3,068	1,025
New England	39	71	86	40
Middle Atlantic	113	191	240	118
East North Central	152	287	276	107
West North Central	129	366	329	104
South Atlantic	301	518	433	170
East South Central	170	265	454	102
West South Central	184	328	581	108
Mountain	79	174	202	93
Pacific	186	379	467	183

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 205. Hired workers includes all persons doing one or more hours of farm work for pay during the survey week. Members of operator's families doing farm work for cash wages are counted as hired workers.

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[38] Louis J. Ducoff, "Farm Laborers," in Carl Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949), p. 291. See also Harold Hoffsommer, "Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the South," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 434-445 (December, 1938).

of which is seasonal, requiring that workers "follow the harvest." As agriculture has been increasingly mechanized, the demands for various types of transient laborers have been reduced, but many specialty crops still require large numbers of laborers for short periods. The Yakima Valley, Washington, for example, demands some 35,000 workers in September to harvest the hops. In the winter months only 400 to 500 workers are needed.[39] The seasonal nature of hired labor demands in various regions of the United States is shown in Table 8. The total number of hired workers in 1953 increased from a seasonal low of approximately

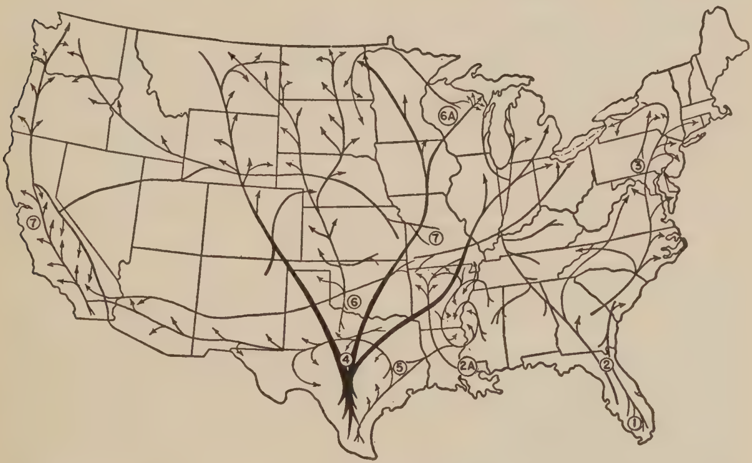

Figure 22. Paths of Migratory Workers in Agriculture. The major paths are as follows: (1) Florida–winter vegetables; East Coast–fruit and vegetables; movement begins in early April. (2 and 2*a*) Florida–winter vegetables; Louisiana –small fruit; movement begins in March and April, ends in Lake States; covers fruit-vegetable canning crops. (3) Pennsylvania-New York–vegetable-canning crops; July-August. (4) Texas–recruitment and movement of workers from winter vegetables to beets; starts in April, workers move April and May; first activity thinning and blocking. (5) Texas–Cotton starts in the Gulf Area in May. (6 and 6*a*) Texas—wheat harvest starts in May. (7) West Coast—cyclical movement supplemented by summer movement from Midwest for hay, grain, fruit, and other harvest. (Source: *The Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States*, Report No. 1515, United States Senate. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950, p. 855.)

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[39] Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948), p. 448.

one million during the last week of December to three times that number during the last week of September. The main lines of movement of the nation's migratory agricultural workers are presented in Figure 22. The high birth rate areas of the South and the Southeast continue to furnish a large proportion of the transient farm labor.

In the not too distant past, the farm laborer outside the Cotton Belt was not a mere wage hand. The social distance between farmer and laborer was small and the hired hand was often treated as a member of the family. He ate at the same table and slept under the same roof as the farm family. It was not infrequent that a laborer married the owner's daughter and thus came to have part interest in the enterprise. Under these conditions, the status of farm labor was a rung on the agricultural ladder to ownership, a condition which is no longer true.

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND HIERARCHICAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Communication. Reference has already been made to the function of social rank in facilitating communication within sub-systems. A change agent working in an open-class system is confronted with a very different situation than when working in a society dominated by castes or estates and where ethnic or similar groups are strong sub-systems. In the open-class system, a general procedure in efforts to introduce improved practices in agriculture or health is to attempt to gain adoption by individuals and groups of high rank, with the expectation that these practices will spread downward. Downward diffusion is less likely to take place in societies which are stratified into castes and estates. If persons of higher rank adopt a change, those of lower rank are frequently not motivated to accept the change because those above are "supposed to be different." In such societies, acceptance on the lower level may preclude upward spread, because the new practice may symbolize the lower rank and carry a disparaging connotation for those of higher rank. Although there are many exceptions, plans to introduce change into highly stratified societies usually require separate personnel and procedures for the different strata. The tenant purchase programs, the supervised loans, and similar devices which were very effective in improving the standard of living of sharecroppers, for example, could scarcely be effective in improving the practices of plantation owners.

Decision-making. Whether the society is highly stratified or not, more decision-making power resides with the higher ranking groups and individuals. However, outside of large systems such as plantations and other large scale enterprises, there is no general institutionalized decision-making mechanism for rural areas. The manner in which decisions in a given area of life are made varies greatly from culture to culture. In Latin American cultures where the "*patron* configuration" exists, much important decision-making rests in the higher ranks in both highly stratified and less stratified communities. In societies in which authority and power are played down, on the other hand, individualism may impel persons and groups to resist the decision-making of higher rank individuals.

Boundary maintenance. In the novel and short story, few themes are used more extensively than those involving attempts to improve social rank against the opposition of others. The boundary maintenance mechanisms of hierarchical systems are different from other systems because the honor of the person is involved in a more conspicuous manner. When a person is attempting to "move up," those above may feel that their social rank is being degraded and those in the same social rank may feel rejected or that the person wants to be superior. All the sentiments involved in the maintenance of social rank are of importance for the change agent attempting to introduce new practices into the whole community or any particular stratum. The change agent's social rank may be more important than any other factor in the success of a given plan involving social change. His ability to identify with various hierarchical groups and at the same time provide prestige to those who adopt the change are often very difficult and critical problems.

Social-cultural linkage. In the writings of social scientists during the last decade, no single subject has been of more concern than social rank. In part, this is due to a pervading assumption that, if social rank is understood, at least a major segment of human motivation would be understood. In general it is assumed that most peoples strive to behave like those whom they consider to be their "betters" or those whom they accept as having higher social rank, both within their own social system and outside.

Most cultural change, whether involving beliefs, the adoption of practices, or the acquisition of material objects, spreads downward from systems having highest social rank. Under conditions in which the ranking systems are congeries of cultural sub-systems, this is particularly true. Where caste conditions exist or the values of one system are not articulated to another system, a quite different state of affairs exists. It is, therefore, important that the change agent know the nature of the social structure within which he is working. If the change system has higher social rank than the target system, the change agent may find means of bringing the two systems together in integrated action. If the system has lower rank than the target system, the change agent may resort to various procedures. Labor and farm organizations, for instance, have exerted influence through voting and economic power. The poor whites in the South may get support of higher rank whites in the South when caste problems are involved by evoking caste identification. By symbol manipulation the change agent forces the upper rank white caste to identify with this lower rank and become involved in actions to which they are basically opposed. Similar symbol manipulation may force higher rank persons to act against certain ethical principles, as when loaded terms such as "communist," "radical," and the like are used.

GETTING A SWIMMING POOL FOR NEGROES

The following case is reproduced here, since it demonstrates the articulation of the power structure in a Cotton Belt community. Since more and more social action carried to rural areas is initiated in large trade centers, we have ample justification for an "urban case." Also the situation illustrates how social-cultural linkage of a large social system, such as the state, is made with a small system, such as the community. The case, written by a social scientist, illustrates so well the concepts used that only a few italics are included to relate it to the authors' conceptual scheme.

POWER IS WHERE YOU FIND IT.[40]

Each year the Chamber of Commerce of Glancyville has a banquet to celebrate naming the Town Man of the Year. Usually the governor of the state is asked to speak and present a cup to the winner of this civic honor.

The project described here began on the night of the last banquet. Governor Blandon Mooreson arrived in town during the early part of the afternoon. After settling in his hotel suite, he placed a telephone call. As a result of the call, two men came to the governor's suite. One of these men, Mr. T. E. Lightman, was president of the First Federal Bank; the other, Mr. J. B. Turner, was the owner of a large industrial plant. Both were powerful leaders in the community.

The average citizen would not recognize them as "policy makers," but they were. [*These men occupy a position at the very top of the social hierarchy.*] Most of their community work was done through others. Mr. Lightman used as his spokesman a young and promising attorney, Clarence Boyd; Mr. Turner always spoke through his son-in-law, Harold Ward.

When Turner and Lightman were called in to see the governor, they knew that he had something important on his mind. After extending the usual courtesies, the governor went into his reason for calling them.

Governor Mooreson explained he believed the United States Supreme Court would shortly render a decision which would rule against segregation as practiced in the state. He went on to say that the people of the state must not wait for this ruling, but must launch, in the various communities, projects which would be examples of the communities' efforts to give the Negro equal rights. He went on to explain that his plan was for four cities in the state to launch different types of community projects, all for the exclusive use of the Negro population. [*From one point of view, social-cultural linkage in this case is being established between the elite of the white caste and the Negro caste.*]

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[40] Floyd Hunter, "Power is Where You Find It," *Adult Leadership*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (May, 1954), pp. 4 ff. All names used are fictitious.

The governor had chosen, as the project for this particular community, building a swimming pool for the Negroes. He did not want one built just like the one the community had completed recently for the white people. He wanted a pool built that would be larger and better than the one now being used by the whites. He said that he also wanted plenty of publicity given the project, and he wanted the project launched in such a way that the Negroes in the city would believe that they were the instigators of it.

He insisted that planning for the pool be done through a committee of prominent Negro citizens. The pool was to be a public project, and he wanted the civic clubs to sponsor it, working with and through the Negro committee. Governor Mooreson said that four projects going on over the state at the same time, if given the proper publicity, would give the people of the state, as well as people elsewhere, proof that every effort was being made to give the minority race equal opportunities with the white people. . . .

In the Lightman home, later that night, another conference was held. Mr. Lightman had met Mr. Stacey Druid at the J. C. banquet and invited him to drive by his house afterwards for a chat.

Mr. Druid, president of the Rotary Club, knew that something was in the wind. He knew that unless it had been important, he would not have been invited to the Lightman home. Also he felt good because some of the men at the banquet had heard the invitation from Mr. Lightman, and it gave Mr. Druid a good boost. [*An illustration of the manner in which the social ranking system reinforces itself. Note the other examples that follow.*]

Over coffee in the Lightman home, the two men settled down to a long conversation. Mr. Lightman told Mr. Druid he thought the community should do something for the young Negroes in the community. They had fairly adequate schools, but there were no recreational facilities available to them. He explained that the white children had a fine pool, but the Negroes had to walk six miles to the nearest creek to swim. He said that it would be a boost to Mr. Druid to be the instigator of this project. Mr. Lightman assured Mr. Druid of his personal support and of financial assistance from the bank.

[*Social and economic facilities are frequently used to move action toward the goal in this case. Frequently recognition from above is enough to motivate action.*] He did not need to tell Mr. Druid that his name, Lightman's, was to be kept out of the project.

So the wheels began to turn. [*Social-cultural linkage is being established.*] The next morning another conversation took place, this time in the mayor's office. Mr. Turner, owner of the paper factory and one of the men to whom the governor had spoken, dropped by to talk with the mayor.

After a little general conversation, he, too, launched into an appeal for a swimming pool for the poor Negro boys and girls who had no recreational program planned for them in the city. Mr. Turner mentioned that the mayor would be running for office again, and it would be good publicity to be able to point to swimming pools for both white and colored, built during his term of office. He went on to explain that his son-in-law would contact the mayor again on the subject. The mayor knew that he must fall in line. He also realized that more than likely he would be given full credit for the project, once it was completed. The movement was progressing.

Two different, though interrelated, groups were now at work—a political group and a civic group. [*The governmental group with its own ranking system with the mayor at the top was working with the more power-diffuse civic systems, in particular a Rotary Club.*] Mr. Druid, at the next meeting of the Rotary Club began quietly asking some of the members if they had noticed the lack of recreational facilities for Negroes. He listened as several members of the club discussed the idea of additional playground equipment, a new baseball diamond, and several other possibilities. Quite casually Mr. Druid mentioned the possibility of building a swimming pool. The first reaction was not too favorable. "It would cost too much," said one man. "It takes too long to get a project of that type under way," said another. "Where will the money come from?" a conservative club member asked.

Mr. Druid, the Rotary president, said that it would be a good idea for the members of the club to think the project over until the next meeting, so he closed the discussion with a passing remark. "I believe that Mr. Lightman would be willing to underwrite some of the cost of a project like this. I talked with him some time ago, and he remarked that it was a shame that one of the civic clubs didn't do something for the Negro children of the community."

The seed had been planted. All that could be done was to wait and see the reaction from the members after they had thought the matter over for a few days.

The first move of the mayor was to pay a visit to the Wheel Rite Corporation plant. He talked with Mr. Lesh, the vice-president. The Wheel Rite Corporation is the largest industrial plant in the city. Over four thousand men work in the plant, and two thousand more work in the woods cutting logs for wood pulp. No project of any size, that cost money, could be put across without the help of this industry, yet the vice-president was not an "old line" power in the city. He was a man who had recently been transferred from Cleveland and had not been accepted into the hierarchy of the local power group. They were watching him to see if he could make the grade. [*He had yet to establish himself in the social ranking system.*]

Mr. Lesh met the mayor in his outer office. They walked into the private office together. After talking around in circles for awhile, the mayor asked if the Wheel Rite company would support the city in its effort to build the Negroes a swimming pool.

It was a bad moment to have brought up the subject. The Negroes were the balance wheel in union voting, and word had just come up the line that the union was going to demand many new concessions in its coming contract negotiations, which would be brought up in about two months. Mr. Lesh told the mayor that he felt that the office in Cleveland would not be inclined to start any new projects that would call for money. He said that after the new contract had been signed, if the company secured a favorable contract, it might be that Wheel Rite would go along with the project.

The mayor felt that everything had been said which could be said at the time. He left Mr. Lesh's office and returned to the city hall. When he reached his office, he called Mr. Harold Ward, Mr. Turner's son-in-law, and repeated the conversation he had had with Wheel Rite's vice-president. Mr. Ward told him not to worry, but to sit tight. He told the mayor to wait and see if the vice-president didn't change his mind. [*Sanctions would be applied through the power structure, especially through his own most important reference and membership group, his company.*]

Ward had dinner that night with his father-in-law. He told Mr. Turner what had taken place. After dinner Mr. Turner placed a long-distance call to John Canfield in Cleveland. Canfield was president of the Wheel Rite Corporation. He also was a close personal friend of Turner and was closely associated with Mr. Lightman, the other powerful member of the community's powerful twosome.

Bandying no words, Mr. Turner explained to Mr. Canfield just what the governor had said. He said that he wanted to be sure that the corporation would lend every assistance to the swimming-pool project. In return, he, Turner, would see that the governor gave full credit to the Wheel Rite Corporation for their help. Turner and Canfield chatted over the phone about the matter for some time. Finally, Mr. Canfield assured Mr. Turner that he would write to the vice-president, Mr. Lesh, the following morning and issue instructions for the plant organization to take a leading part in the pool project. He assured Mr. Turner that the Wheel Rite Corporation would go as high as $5,000 toward the goal that would have to be set. . . .

Mr. Lightman, the other top power figure in the situation, was not idle either. He had called to his office three of the most influential Negroes of the city, Dr. Tilbet, a prominent and wealthy Negro doctor; Fred Burton, owner of a Negro Funeral Home, and Hubert Walden, an elderly Negro who owned a large section of the real estate in the Negro business section. These men were the power leaders among their race. [*Note that there are two social ranking systems: the white and Negro castes.*] Although they were respected by the white leaders, they were called upon only when the going got tough and the sentiment of the Negroes in the community needed to be swayed one way or the other. Mr. Lightman had called a meeting in his office to show these men how important the occasion was. He was not present, however. Mr. Boyd, the attorney for the bank and the spokesman for Mr. Lightman in most community affairs, met with the Negroes. Mr. Lightman was suddenly called away to another important meeting elsewhere in the city. Mr. Boyd told these men that the city felt that something should be done for the Negro children of the community, and wondered what the men thought of a swimming pool.

The Negro leaders knew that there was some reason for this sudden burst of enthusiasm for a pool. They had been trying for years to interest the city in just such a project, but had met with little success. They undoubtedly knew the real reason behind the present proposal, but they decided to play it cozy. They began, straight-faced, to bargain. They told Mr. Boyd that what was needed, more than a swimming pool, was another addition to the elementary school for Negroes.

Being ready for such feeling on the part of these men, Mr. Boyd explained that the city fathers thought it best to wait and see what action the supreme court was going to take on the laws of segregation. After this matter had been dealt with by the courts, Mr. Boyd felt sure that the city would then work out whatever it could in regard to the school situation. But, he went on to explain, the need for recreation for the Negro people during the hot summer months was great. Then, too, the project would let all of the Negro people know that the white people were interested in their welfare and were willing to do something about the situation.

The Negro leaders asked just what part they were to play in the project. Mr. Boyd asked them to get the school authorities to draw up a request and hand it to the mayor. They were once again to ask the city to build a pool for their use. They were to be allowed to choose the location from three or four places available, on land owned by the city. Mr. Boyd assured them that this time the request would be met with favor. They felt it was better to have a pool than to have nothing. They realized, too, that getting a pool would give them prestige among their own race because most of the Negroes would think they had done some fast maneuvering to get it. The Negro leaders then went back to start their part in the scheme that was beginning to take shape.

At the next meeting of the Rotary Club there was a lot of talk over the luncheon tables about the proposed project. Workers for Mr. Lightman and Mr. Turner had evidently been seeing and talking to some of the members individually. After lunch had been served and the regular business of the meeting got under way, it was not long before the entire group had sold themselves the belief that the pool was all their own idea. No one noticed, or gave evidence of noticing, that the idea had been presented in a neat bundle. The members were sold on what they thought was their own idea. [*A type of decision-making not uncommon when effective change agents are at work.*]

A committee was formed, a chairman of the Negro Swimming-Pool Project was appointed, and several other committees got into action. [*Although there are several change systems involved here, it is the Rotary Club that operates to articulate the various status-role and authority structures to accomplish the objectives of the action.*] The radio stations, as well as two newspapers, were given prepared statements about the new "Project for Improved Race Relations." So the public, for the first time, were told of what was being done for the Negro children. The Rotary Club was cooperating with the Negro organizations to help them to get a swimming pool for the use of the Negro children in the community—this was the general tone of all publicity.

The city engineer met with the committee of the Rotary Club and a member of the Negro power group and plans were drawn for the pool, a place was chosen and agreed upon, and then the public were asked to help finance the pool.

While all of this was being done, Mr. Lesh, vice-president of the Wheel Rite Corporation, had received word from Cleveland to join wholeheartedly into the project. All other major industries soon did the same. The pool was assured.

After the necessary money—about $50,000—had been raised, those who were publicly taking part in the project met at the place where the pool was to be built. They had photographers present. The president of the Rotary Club, the mayor of the city, and one of the Negro leaders were there for the ground-breaking ceremonies. Noticeably absent were the top power leaders. Neither the name of Mr. Lightman nor of Mr. Turner had been mentioned in any of the publicity. All the credit for the project was going to the mayor, the Negro leaders, and the Rotary Club. [*It should be noted that the two men at the very top of the social hierarchy are not obviously a part of the change system. Such formal agencies as the Rotary Club usually have members who are lower in the hierarchy.*] Pictures of this ceremony went out to the various newspapers in the South. The city had done "a grand job. . . ."

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7

Religious Social Systems

All societies, no matter how primitive or advanced, carry on religious activities and hold religious beliefs. In few social phenomena, however, is there greater variety in form and practice. Some societies such as the Polar Eskimos and the Chiricuhua Apaches have shamans or religious functionaries who give only part of their time to religious activities. Others, including the more complex societies such as our own, as well as simpler cultures such as the Dahomans of West Africa and the Baganda of East Africa, have full-time religious functionaries called priests or ministers.[1] Orthodox Hindus worship the cow, the Tanala of Madagascar worship their ancestors, and the Murngin worship a water hole. Life after death is promised by some religions and not by others. Some religions have one god; others have many gods, in some cases organized into hierarchies.[2] Some societies have only simple religious cults, characterized by simple dogma and beliefs; others possess rich dogma and elaborate ritual. Some religions support norms of moderation or extreme negation in the satisfaction of the senses; others, at least on occasion, permit indulgence in mass orgies of eating, dancing, and sexual license.

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[1] Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 485-493.

[2] *Ibid.* See also Arnold W. Green, *Sociology—An Analysis of Life in Modern Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 415.

DEFINITION AND FUNCTION OF RELIGION

Although religion is defined in many ways by sociologists, the writers feel that at least three forms of human activity and belief are to be subsumed under the term religion. These are a distinction between that which is considered sacred and that which is considered profane, belief in a superior power or powers, and a pattern of worship. Regardless of how religion may be defined, one of the major functions of religious social systems is that of providing integration and solidarity in group life. In summarizing the functions of religion, Beals and Hoijer say that religion "is in the main, a response to the need for an organized conception of the universe and to have a mechanism for allaying anxieties created by man's inability to predict and understand events which do not apparently conform to natural laws."[3]

Religion serves to establish and reaffirm group ends and norms. It maintains group ends over private ends and provides mechanisms and motivation to encourage individuals to contribute to group endeavor. It prevents disruption of social systems. For these functions a system of supernatural beliefs is provided to explain and sanctify group ends and norms and to justify their primacy. Religion also provides collective ritual and other means of reinforcing these ends and norms. Sacred objects which are not intrinsically different from secular objects are accorded respect, reverence, and awe. In sacred objects, concrete references are provided for the values reflected in group ends and norms. These sacred objects also provide a basis for mobilizing and rallying those who share the ends and norms of a particular group.

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[3] Beals and Hoijer, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

The function of religion in the motivation of individuals in the creation of meaningful self images is one side of the coin. The other is the function of religion in group solidarity and integration. "A society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society."[4] Religion provides the most attractive rewards available to man's imagination either in this world or the next for those who, in terms of the established norms, are good. For those who are bad it provides the most horrible punishment man can imagine either in this world or the next.[5] Religion may also enhance the individual's feeling of self-importance and may rationalize, or at least make bearable, suffering in this world. It also assists in supplying man's need for an organized conception of his universe.[6]

Adjustment to the unexpected. Normal social interaction among members may often be interrupted, even in solidary societies or systems. Individuals are disturbed and interaction patterns may be shattered when loved or respected associates die, when leaders pass on or change, or when crises develop from unexpected catastrophes. In almost all fields, even in instrumental or technological action, the most competent and diligent person may fail due to unpredictable and uncontrollable factors. In the world of human affairs, arduous, diligent, and conscientious effort may not only fail to bring the expected rewards but may result in tragedy. At any moment death may snatch away those who make life meaningful; conflicts in status-roles and ends may turn friends into enemies; the just may be punished and the unjust rewarded; and earthquakes, cyclones, and war may play havoc with normal social life. In such cases religion provides a means for retaining integration. Injustices in this world may be corrected in the hereafter, and for personal and group catastrophes there are rites of passage and intensification.

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[4] A. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 519. Reprinted by Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1948. See also Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 518 ff.

[5] Davis, *ibid.*, p. 529.

[6] Beals and Hoijer, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

Success in farming and ranching cannot be attributed solely to ability and effort, since climate, many diseases of plants and animals, and prices cannot always be effectively predicted or controlled by the farm operator. In most rural areas, religious beliefs and practices serve to provide security in those realms that have not been brought completely under human control. Religion also contributes to the readjustment of interaction after disaster or failure.

Figure 23 represents an attempt to describe how a religious leader may function to reestablish interaction in crisis periods or during changes in the normal interaction rates of individuals.[7] As emphasized previously, cooperative activity requires that individuals be organized into social systems and that they function in roles according to norms and standards, all of which are maintained in more or less delicate balance. Any change such as birth, marriage, sickness, or death will alter the balance and hence the interaction rates. Such changes necessitate an adjustment of the elements of the social system. In the event of death, as Malinowski very effectively points out, unless readjustment takes place among the close associates of the departed, they may engage in activities which are harmful to the community and even to themselves.

Various rites associated with events that cause disequilibrium, such as death, birth, and illness, are called rites of passage. In all societies rites related to these events in the life cycle of the individual have been developed. Many of these rites of passage are carried out under the direction of the religious leader. When the church is thought of as a social system, baptism and revivals, as a part of the church functions, are initiation rites. Generally the elaborateness of the rites of passage is related to the importance of the event.[8]

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[7] E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), p. 399.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 486-487.

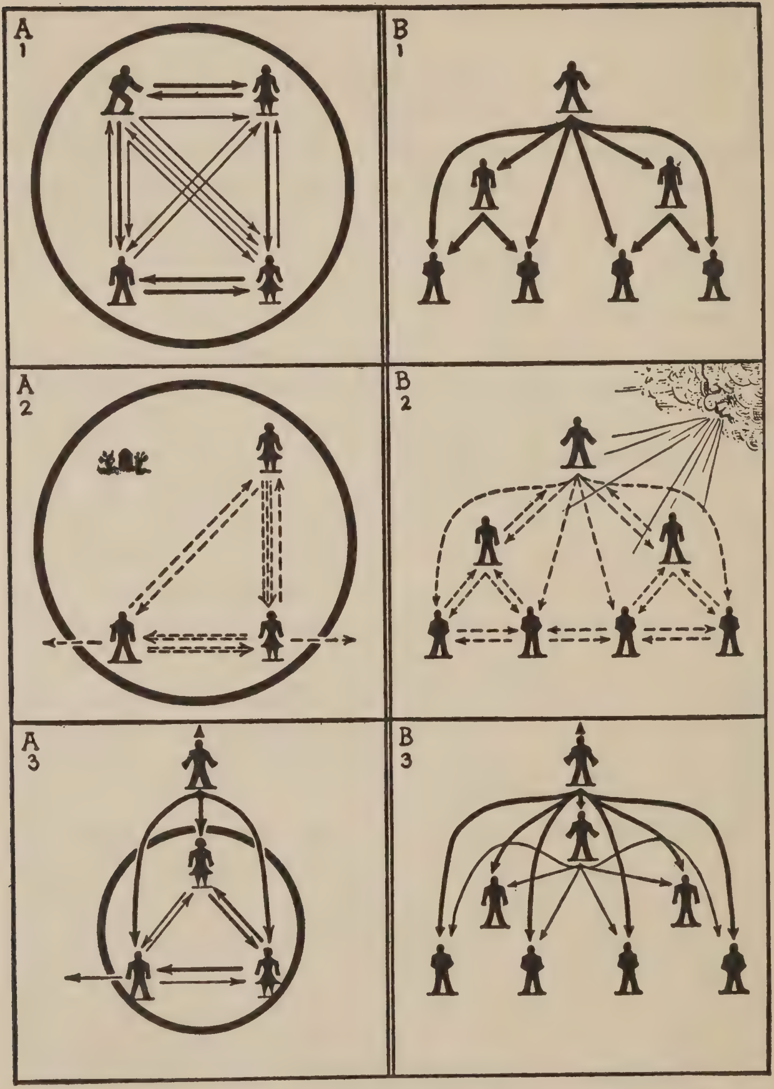

Figure 23. The Restoration of Equilibrium Through Ritual. (*A*) *A Rite of Passage.* (1) A family in equilibrium. (2) Disequilibrium caused by death of father and reduction of habitual interaction. (3) Restoration of equilibrium: shaman interacts with family in ritual techniques, restoring amount of interaction and stabilizing equilibrium long enough to permit readjustment at a new level. (*B*) *A Rite of Intensification.* (1) A system in equilibrium. (2) A crisis disturbs the order of action, and upsets the equilibrium. (3) The shaman

In any rural community, interaction is greatly influenced by the seasons, the character and labor demands of various types of farming, and catastrophes such as floods and tornadoes. Chapple and Coon have amassed much data in an effort to show that many rites and ceremonies, which they call rites of intensification, have as their function establishing a suitable type and rate of interaction. Rites of intensification are of particular importance in reestablishing the equilibrium after a disaster. They are also important when the interaction rate changes for reasons other than birth, marriage, and death. The purpose of mealtime prayers, for instance, is that of establishing an equilibrium of interaction rates in the family. The role of the minister in leading responsive reading, singing, or prayer, also exemplifies the relation of religious activities to rites of intensification.

The change in the seasons in agricultural societies may be accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Some have viewed these ceremonies as functionally related to the establishment of a different tempo of interaction among members of the constituent groups and communities. In Scandinavian countries, for example, "Midsummer Day" is an important event. Although this celebration has its roots in antiquity, the custom of building fires and otherwise celebrating continues. Originally, the fires were intended to communicate the change of seasons on the part of the clergy, and they signaled the beginning of seasonal agricultural and fishing activities. In southern European countries, where the change from winter to spring is abrupt, the carnival is an important ceremony. The church may participate very little in this rite of intensification. Previous institutionalized norms are often disregarded, and interaction is established which permits strangers to talk, dance, and to make love to one another in anonymity. These ceremonies and many others, some

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orients members of the system, directing them in ritual techniques and thus restoring the disturbed interaction rates. (Adapted from E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, p. 399.)

of which have lost all or part of their original functions, are of rural origin.

Anomie, social disequilibrium, or disorganization. When the ends and norms for any reason become meaningless for the individual, leaving him without motivation; when the customary patterns of interaction among members of a system deteriorate; when the existing interaction patterns fail to provide the individual with a significant status-role; or when the ends and norms to which he responds are in serious conflict, *anomie* or social disequilibrium results.[9] It has been shown that the proportion of migrants in a given area is correlated positively with manifestations commonly associated with *anomie*.[10] These manifestations were high suicide rates and the rapid growth of religious sects. The relationship between the spread of Nazism and the insecurity brought about by rapid changes accompanying industrialization and commercialization of the family-sized farming areas of rural Germany has also been shown.[11]

Although the evidence is inconclusive, it appears that religious sects or political organizations which perform many of the functions of the sects, tend to appear in areas where *anomie* exists. Such organizations furnish individuals with motivation by providing meaningful ends, norms and status-roles, and may often develop a powerful *esprit de corps*. In order that members may attain economic security and at the same time achieve integration, the sect often becomes uncompromising with the value orientations of other social systems in society. As a process or evolution, the sect may achieve solidarity as well as economic well-being for its members and begin to raise its social rank in the community. Finally sects may lose their "separateness" from the community and assume the aspects of typical church organization.[12] The development, as described by Niebuhr is as follows: ". . . One phase of the history of denominationalism reveals itself as the story of the religiously neglected poor, who fashion a new type of Christianity which corresponds to their distinctive needs, who rise in the economic scale under the influence of religious discipline, and who, in the midst of a freshly acquired cultural respectability, neglect the new poor succeeding them on the lower plane. This pattern recurs with remarkable regularity in the history of Christianity. Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, Salvation Army, and more recent sects of like type illustrate this rise and progress of the churches of the disinherited."[13]

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[9] Emile Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), Book III, Chapter 1.

[10] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 403 and 406.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 407. See also Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6 (1946), pp. 724-734 and Charles P. Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1950), Chapters 20, 21, 22. Here suicide is studied in relation to bombing, social structure, and many other factors.

This type of development is important for all areas subjected to the rapid changes brought about by the introduction of modern technology. This is especially true in areas where the social systems were organized and established on a Gemeinschaft-like basis. In Gemeinschaft-like societies previous to the introduction of modern Western technology, the long established ends and norms were reinforced by religious ritual and ceremony. In the non-primitive areas, the church has become denominational and organized into structures comparable to other bureaucratic social systems. With the impact of modern technology in either the primitive or advanced culture, the individual may be torn from his reference groups, including his family, his neighborhood, and, of course, his local church. A state of *anomie* may result. In areas where the religious social systems have not evolved from the sect to the denominational or church state, the impact may be different, but the same disorganizing influences will be present. We shall now turn from the relation of sects and denominations to the strategy of change. First we must consider the special problems churches and other religious systems have in introducing change.

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[12] Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932). See pp. 624-642 especially for a more specifically defined typology including the concepts "ecclesia," "sect," "denomination," and "cult." The authors have condensed these types into two main types, namely sects, and non-sects which we call denominations and churches.

[13] J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), p. 28, as quoted from H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929). See also A. B. Hollingshead, "The Life Cycle of Nebraska Rural Churches," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1937), pp. 180-191.

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS IN RELATION TO THE STRATEGY OF CHANGE

Since most communities have churches and other church-related organizations, it is logical to assume that religious agencies might be the most effective channels of communication through which change agents might work. In a nation-wide sample of rural organizational leaders,[14] it was found that churches and religious organizations are very frequently involved in adult educational programs. When the leaders in the 263 sample counties were asked "What other organizations do you work with, or through, in your educational work with adults?" the category, "churches and religious organizations," received more checks than all categories except "farm organizations" and "schools."

Most of the fourteen investigators involved in this study of adult education were surprised at the central position held by religious organizations in the network of communication in rural America. Before the data mentioned above were available, the investigators ranked the twenty categories of organizations which should receive financial assistance in advancing adult education. Very few of the investigators mentioned "churches and religious organizations." Why did these investigators place such a low evaluation upon the religious organizations with respect to effectiveness in adult education? This question was discussed by the investigators. Some admitted that they had underestimated the potentiality of the religious organizations due to their omnipresence. But most of the social scientists felt that although religious organizations may provide channels of communication, their very function in society generally militated against their being used as change agents. In a sense, this feeling is in accord with the Marxists' claim that religion may give solace to people rather than carry through changes. However, the social scientists recognized that the function of religion is to integrate and strengthen the existing value orientation rather than to propose new values or changes. It is this particular function of religion which the change agent must consider in proposing action.

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[14] Charles P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), pp. 322-323.

If religion—whether carried on in churches or elsewhere—is to increase integration and solidarity, it can hardly be called upon to initiate major changes, except insofar as these changes bring individuals and sub-systems more into line with the general norms. Perhaps enough has been said to indicate the basic difficulty involved in church organizations assuming the role of change agent. In social-cultural linkage, of course, the methods used by those religions which send missionaries to bring other groups and systems into the fold may be employed, but this is another problem and will be discussed subsequently.

It is fortunate that most of the technological and many of the other changes do not necessarily conflict with the basic values. Usually a change agent's major concern is to make sure that what is being advocated is viewed as being in line with the goals and norms of the groups to which the appeal is made. This requires some consideration of religious systems in terms of value orientation and social structure.

THE PROFESSIONAL RELIGIOUS LEADER

The leader of the sect is most frequently a prophet or "charismatic" leader. The church or denomination leader, on the other hand, may be characterized as the institutional functionary who "derives his authority by virtue of the position he holds, rather than by personal characteristics or any special claim to divine authority alone."[15]

The minister or priest, regardless of his own personal goals and expectancies, is directed by the norms of his role. Nelson, for example, discusses the reactions of a minister of his acquaintance who "desired to undertake in a rural parish a number of pastoral and community activities outside the conventional pattern in that community and found himself 'up against a stone wall.' 'They call me the preacher,' he said, 'and do not expect me to do anything besides preach to them on Sundays.' Fresh out of college and the seminary, he was full of enthusiasm to engage in many community activities which the group considered 'secular' in nature and therefore not proper for the minister."[16]

TABLE 9

MEDIAN PERCENTAGE OF WORK WEEK MINISTERS SPENT ON ACTIVITIES

Activity	*Median Per Cent*	*Number of Ministers Responding (N = 231)*
Preparation for and participation in regular church services	24.15	181
Pastoral calls and counselling	22.85	180
Professional reading	12.26	159
Work with church groups (youth, men's and women's groups)	5.86	168
Personal devotions	5.52	198
Committee meetings for church work	4.68	164
Other activities	4.47	50
Work for special projects such as building church	4.06	141
Preparation and delivery of talks to various groups	3.86	153
Leadership in community youth work (Scouts, 4-H Club, and so forth)	3.42	156
Attending religious conferences	3.25	173
Performing religious rites (weddings, and so forth)	2.18	185
Helping with public school functions	1.90	133
Cooperating with county agent to promote better rural life	1.82	113

SOURCE: Richard O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. XII, No. 4 (1947), p. 378.

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[15] Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 361.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 366.

What rural ministers actually do. A study of what rural ministers actually do as set off against what progressive religious leaders admonish them to do, reveals considerable discrepancy. As the selection at the end of this chapter indicates, ministers in the better seminaries are exhorted to become community leaders and to use their status-roles for the betterment of life generally. As Table 9 indicates, most of the rural minister's time goes into preparation and participation for his role related directly to the church. Very little time is spent with agricultural agents and other non-church leaders and groups. Nevertheless, Table 10 indicates that most rural ministers would like more training

TABLE 10

ACTIVITIES FOR WHICH MINISTERS HAVE RECEIVED NO PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND FOR WHICH THEY WISH FURTHER TRAINING

Activity	*Ministers Having No Professional Training*		*Ministers Wishing Further Training*	
	Number (*N* = 231)	*Per Cent*	*Number* (*N* = 231)	*Per Cent*
Cooperating with county agent to promote better rural life	95	41.1	108	46.7
Leadership in community youth work (Scouts, 4-H Club, and so forth	83	35.9	114	49.3
Helping with public school functions	69	29.8	51	22.0
Work for special projects such as building church	57	24.6	39	16.9
Work with church groups (youth, men's and women's groups)	44	19.0	79	34.2
Committee meetings for church work	37	16.0	35	15.1
Pastoral calls and counselling	37	16.0	82	35.5
Others	30	12.9	35	15.1
Preparation and delivery of talks to various groups	25	10.8	46	19.9
Performing religious rites (weddings, and so forth)	24	10.3	19	8.8
Attending religious conferences	18	7.7	15	6.5
Professional reading	18	7.7	23	9.9
Personal devotions	17	7.3	28	12.1
Preparation for and participation in regular church services	8	3.4	33	14.2
Median per cent	—	17.2	—	21.8

SOURCE: Richard O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (1947), p. 382.

in fields which would facilitate their cooperation with other social systems of the community. Rural sociologists will be interested to know that the ministers ranked rural sociology fifth in the list of deficiencies in their training. Above rural sociology were: how to work with governmental and community agencies, scientific agriculture, rural church administration, and practical and pastoral theology.[17]

Goals of rural ministers. The authors compared the verbalized goals of life of twenty-nine rural ministers with a cross-section of 403 Michigan State University freshmen and sophomores.[18] The ministers placed the following goals highest: first, serving God; second, serving the community; and third, promoting pleasure for others. For the college students the first three choices were as follows: first, self-development; second, handling specific problems as they arise; and third, fine relations with others. It would seem from this evidence that the choice of the profession by the candidate for the ministry and the internalization of his professional goals influence his verbalized goals.

What is wanted from the religious leader. Although the professional religious leader must be able to function in the bureaucratic or Gesellschaft-like organizations, the nature of his status-role like those of the administrator or statesman requires special qualities. For example, the letters setting forth the qualifications of ministers from the standpoint of local congregations almost all mention *personality*. The ability to inspire, work with, lead, and organize groups is mentioned repeatedly.[19] It appears that in the ministry, as in the healing arts and teaching, the professional person must relate the universal principles to the people through the appeal of his *personality*. This would suggest certain particularistic and functionally-diffuse aspects of the profession of religious leaders.

[17] Richard O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (1947), pp. 375-387.

[18] Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-423.

[19] Mark A. May, *et al.*, *The Education of American Ministers, Vol. II, The Profession of the Ministry* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934).

Age, salaries, and training of rural ministers. As a group, clergymen are relatively old. A comparison with male and female teachers and physicians and surgeons is found in Figure 24. Of those persons fourteen and over and employed in 1950, approximately 27 per cent of the clergymen were fifty-five years old or over. Comparable proportions were 24 per cent for physicians and surgeons, 12 per cent for male teachers, and 14 per cent for female teachers. Although data are unavailable for rural and urban areas, rural clergymen are doubtless older than urban clergymen on the average.

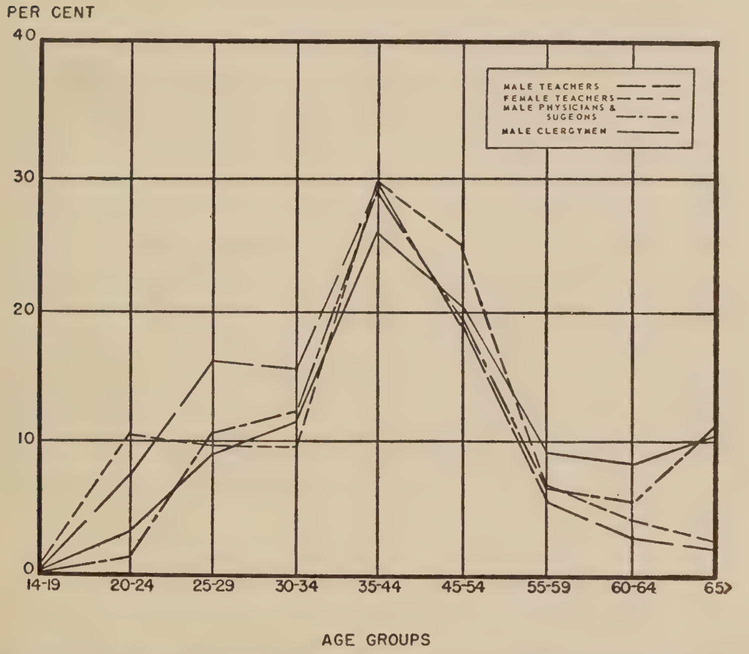

Figure 24. Age Distribution of Clergymen, Male and Female Teachers, and Physicians and Surgeons in the United States, 1950. (Source: Seventeenth Census of the United States.)

Data concerning clergymen's salaries are unsatisfactory, in part due to the difficulty of evaluating such perquisites as furnished parsonages, especially concerning rural pastors. In 1950, the median income of clergy with income in the U.S. was $2,412. This figure is approximately $1,000 less than the median salary of male teachers ($3,456). Fourteen per cent of all clergymen reported an income of less than $1,000 and 53 per cent reported an income of less than $2,500. Less than four per cent of all clergymen received $6,000 or more per year.

In a study of 482 rural churches in four Pennsylvania counties, it was found that one minister out of four was paid less than $2,000 per year and that one minister out of five worked part-time or full-time at some non-church occupation. Furthermore very few of the rural pastors received any car or office expense allowance.[20]

The training received by clergymen varies greatly according to denomination and section of the country. In general, rural clergy are less well trained than urban clergy. In the study of rural churches in Pennsylvania, one out of five clergymen had no professional training at all; three out of five, however, had attended a theological seminary. The same study showed that churches having "the greatest tendency to register gain" were served by pastors having had college and seminary training and who were giving full time to the ministry.[21]

RELATION OF CHURCH AFFILIATION TO TOLERANCE

A scientific sample of 4,933 adults throughout the nation was interviewed in 1954 in order to study attitudes related to conformity, communism, civil liberties, and their correlates.[22] To the question "Have you attended church or religious services in the last month?", 56 per cent of the males and 69 per cent of the females answered "yes." No doubt these percentages are somewhat inflated because some may not have wanted to admit they did not go to church. Actually, a five per cent inflation was found on a similar question concerning voting which could be checked against actual voting performance.

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[20] L. B. Whitman and William G. Mather, "The Rural Churches of Four Pennsylvania Counties," State College: Pennsylvania AES Progress Report No. 76 (June, 1952).

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), pp. 140 ff.

The study reveals that church attenders, both men and women, are more likely to be intolerant of socialists, atheists, communists, or suspected communists than non-churchgoers. This holds with few exceptions for various educational levels, age groups, regions, leadership status, and localities of various size ranging from metropolitan areas to farm communities. From this careful study of attitudes toward non-conformity, we may conclude that the churchgoers are influenced by their churches in the direction of intolerance or that churches tend to draw those who are intolerant. In conformity with our thesis that religion has, as one of its most important functions, maintenance of accepted values, intolerant attitudes toward non-conformists may reflect the operation of boundary maintenance on the part of churchgoers. This would seem true notwithstanding the high place of toleration in the Christian creed. Churches in the United States as elsewhere are more likely to support conformity than to function as change agents.

THE RURAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Neighborhood-centered churches. Neighborhood areas in many parts of the country, especially in the South, are coterminous with the church areas. With the expansion in size of locality groups and the gradual disappearance of solidary ethnic communities, the neighborhood church is disappearing. The trade-centered community often serves to disrupt the neighborhood units, and the neighborhoods are disappearing or giving up their functions to the towns.

One of the most important studies of the ecological aspects of secularization is to be found in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan.*[23]

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[23] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), Chapter 2.

Here villages of various degrees of isolation are compared with each other. In terms of the concepts presented, it was found that the Gemeinschaft-like traits tended to disappear as one approached the areas influenced by city civilization.

Programs that coordinate church activity on the trade-center community basis. Several plans to coordinate religious functions have appeared in face of what seems to be an inevitable trend toward trade-center community development, one of which is the larger parish plan. The larger parish is "a group of churches in a larger rural community, or a potential religious community, working together through a larger-parish council and a larger-parish staff to serve the people of the area with a diversified

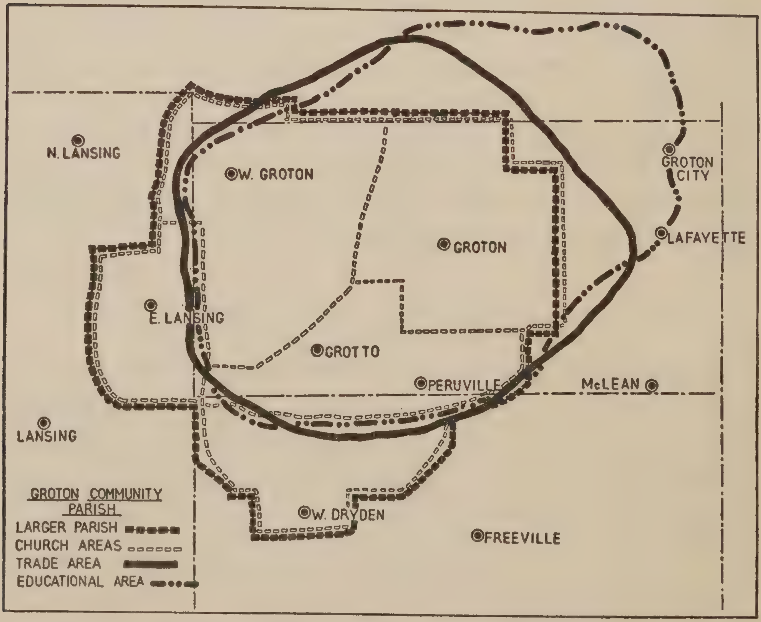
N. LANSING
W. GROTON
GROTON
GROTON CITY
LAFAYETTE
E. LANSING
GROTTO
PERUVILLE
McLEAN
LANSING
W. DRYDEN
FREEVILLE
GROTON COMMUNITY PARISH
LARGER PARISH
CHURCH AREAS
TRADE AREA
EDUCATIONAL AREA

Figure 25. The Larger Parish in Groton Community, New York. There are four Protestant churches at the village center and four small open-country churches. Without disbanding any of the individual church programs, the larger parish proposes a plan whereby all churches can work together. (Source: Mark Rich, *The Larger Parish.* Ithaca: Cornell Extension Bulletin, 1939, p. 5.)

ministry."[24] The unification of all the religious work in a trade-center community area is under the direction of a single pastor working with a staff.[25] The ecological pattern of organization of the larger parish of a rural New York community is described in Figure 25.

The staff in the larger parish plan ordinarily consists of the pastors of individual churches and specialists employed by the larger parish. A council, comparable to a church board, directs the functions of the organization. It may, for example, "call" the minister, whose responsibility it is to organize and manage the work of the member churches. This permits unification and co-ordination. Youth work, for example, may be unified so that there will be one large youth group, with special programs which may be broken down on a neighborhood basis.

The "exchange of rights" is another form of cooperation which permits the minister to organize his work with more attention to the local community.[26] Due to the growth and decline of church memberships, especially in rural areas, it may become advantageous for two denominations that are separated spatially to exchange facilities. Such exchanges are rare, since the system is applicable only in special circumstances.

Federation is more generally applicable than the exchange of rights.[27] In this plan, individual churches agree to maintain their denominational affiliations but to act as a single congregation in local affairs. Federation means that members may "call" one pastor, unite in common worship, amalgamate Sunday Schools, women's organizations, brotherhoods, and youth organizations. Although individuals remain members of their original denominational bodies, a unified church leadership and a single church program is made possible in the local community. Federation, like other forms of community church cooperation, has failed to make a great deal of headway. However, Kolb and Brunner report that four-fifths of 4,200 Methodist laymen and ministers replied affirmatively to the question: "Should rural churches be federated on community lines?"[28]

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[24] Mark Rich, *The Larger Parish* (Ithaca: Cornell Extension Bulletin, 1939).

[25] See R. C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), p. 138.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[27] J. S. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 538. These writers estimate that there are about 400 federated churches in America. They state that only 10 per cent of the federations concern more than two denominations.

Church size. Landis estimated church membership for the United States in 1940 to be 64,501,594. Fifty-nine per cent of the membership was Protestant. The total figure represented 250 denominations and 244,319 local churches. On this basis, the population per church was 540 and the membership per church was 264.[29] Data presented by Hall for 1949, placed the total church membership at 81,862,328, with the proportion of Protestants being the same as in 1940.[30] Table 11 presents selected data for the larger denominations as collected from the church bodies.

The small churches in rural America (resulting from low population density), sectarianism in the Protestant groups, and the original tendency for rural churches to be established in the neighborhood communities, have lead to poor financial support, poor staffing, and poor services. The churches in the Cotton Belt and the Range-Livestock Areas are particularly small. The largest rural churches are in the Dairy Areas.

Denominations vary greatly as to their degree of rurality. In general, the Baptist and Methodist churches as well as certain of the Lutheran synods are largely rural churches. The Roman Catholic Church and Jewish congregations are highly urban. Thus, the non-Protestant bodies are largely urban. Less than one per cent of the Jewish membership and less than 20 per cent of the Roman Catholic membership are found in rural areas.

Support of churches. Landis estimated that in 1940 less than one per cent of the national income went to churches—an aver-

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[29] B. Y. Landis, ed., *Yearbook of American Churches* (New York: Yearbook of American Churches Press, 1941), p. 163.

[30] Clarence W. Hall, "The State of the Church," *World Outlook* (November, 1950).

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF CHURCHES, MEMBERSHIP, AND ORDAINED CLERGY FOR RELIGIOUS BODIES REPORTING 500,000 OR MORE MEMBERS IN 1950

Religious Body	*Number of Churches Reported*	*Membership and Clergy*	
		Membership (in 1,000's)	*Ordained Clergy*
GRAND TOTAL[1]	281,511	86,830	285,014
Baptist Bodies			
American Baptist Convention	6,768	1,561	6,200
Southern Baptist Convention	27,788	7,080	22,293
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc.	25,350	4,446	24,587
National Baptist Convention of America	10,851	2,646	27,237
Churches of Christ	14,500[3]	1,000[3]	7,000[3]
Congregational Christian Church	5,679[2]	1,205[2]	5,744[2]
Disciples of Christ	7,769	1,768	8,208
Eastern Churches			
Greek Archdioces of North and South America	320	1,000	325
Evangelical and Reformed Church	2,754[2]	726[2]	678[2]
Evangelical United Brethren Church	4,323	718	3,295
Jewish Congregations	3,728[2]	5,000[2]	2,350
Latter Day Saints			
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	2,117	1,111	—
Lutheran Bodies			
American Lutheran Church	1,876[2]	692[2]	1,712[2]
Evangelical Lutheran Church of America	2,707[2]	814[2]	1,648[2]
Lutheran Church Missouri Synod	4,430	1,675	—
United Lutheran Church of America	4,134[2]	1,954[2]	3,830[2]
Methodist Bodies			
African Methodist Episcopal Church	5,878	1,166	7,173
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	3,060	530	3,085
The Methodist Church	40,158	8,936	24,437
Presbyterian Bodies			
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.	3,647	678	2,694
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.	8,335	2,319	9,196
Protestant Episcopal Church	7,784[2]	2,541[2]	6,654[2]
Roman Catholic Church	15,533	28,635	43,889
Spiritualists			
Christ Unity Spiritual Science Church	3,380	657	3,812

SOURCE: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America; *Yearbook of American Churches* (1951), as corrected in October 6, 1951 issue of *Information Service*.

[1] Only churches giving information included. Total includes church bodies with fewer than 500,000 members.

[2] 1949 data.

[3] 1951 data.

age of less than $2,500 per church. In 1936 Brunner and Lorge[31] found expenditures for village churches in the 140 communities studied averaged $1,900; those for open country churches $560. Average contributions for village members were $10; those for country members $5.60.

The Consumer Purchase Study[32] indicated a very high relation between income and contributions to churches, with little difference between village and farm families in comparable income groups. The range was great, with income the determining factor. White sharecroppers in Georgia reported as low as $2.22 per family as contrasted with $25 for farm families in the California sample. For the country as a whole, farmers with incomes from $2,000 to $2,500 gave $27; those with incomes from $1,000 to $1,250, $16. Such data suggest that the plight of the rural church results from low incomes and small congregations.

ELEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Ends and objectives. The value orientation of sects as compared with churches and denominations such as the Catholic or Methodist Church, exhibit a variety of differences. If we consider the relations of the chief religious leader of the sect and the professional priest or minister in the church or denomination, the differences may be illustrated. In the case of the sect, the leader's relationships to his parishioners are less professionalized and may be more affective, functionally-diffuse, and particularistic. The very intimacy of the sect and its isolation from the rest of the community means that the leader must maintain Gemeinschaft-like relations with those who accept him as a leader. On the other hand, in the denomination or church, the relationships of the priest or minister to members of his parish or congregation tend to be more affectively neutral, functionally-specific, and his actions are determined more largely by universalistic norms. He is a professional and functions according to professional standards. His immediate religious norms are more universal and accepted by more people than are those of the leader of the sect.

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[31] Landis, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-309.

[32] Day Monroe, *et al.*, "*Family Expenditures for Personal Care, Gifts, Selected* Taxes and Miscellaneous Items," Miscellaneous Publication 455 (Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, 1941).

The authors know of Protestant sects spreading in the Catholic areas of Latin America which make the most of these differences. In certain areas the Catholic priest comes infrequently, services may be in Latin and not understood, and the priest is not known personally. The sect leaders come in intimate contact with the people, develop affective relationships on a personal level, carry on services in the native tongue of the people, and attempt to appeal to individual interests. They make every effort not to let general principles stand in the way of helping the people.

For the change agent interested in the church as a means of introducing improved practices, differences involving the value orientation are important. In the sect, the approach of the leaders must be more personal and the appeal may be relatively general. For the priest or minister of a church or congregation the situation is different. The change agent must know the beliefs and dogma of the whole church in relation to things of this earth as well as with things related to the future life.

The Maryknoll Priests, an order of the Catholic Church in Latin America, are interested in and use the introduction of improved health and agricultural practices as a means of advancing their religious goals. Most priests in Latin America consider such interests to be beyond their own competence and objectives of the church. Some even consider them as incompatible with their status-role in the order, condemning them as things of the world. In any case, the general rules and policies of the order are important for the change agent. In the case of sect groups, formalized norms are often not present. In summary, in working with sects the change agent may be expected to place more emphasis upon personal, diffuse, and intimate relations. In the case of the church or denomination, a high official may give clearance which is often helpful at the local levels. The basic beliefs, dogmas, and rules must be understood in the case of either sect or church.

Status-roles. In the sect, expectancy patterns of the various officials and members are generally less definite and predictable than in the church or denomination. The change agent will usually be able to ascertain those status-roles in a church or denomination which are most important for his purpose. In the sect the personal qualities of the members and officers may be more important than their status-roles for the purpose of advancing a given improved practice. For an agricultural extension agent in a Latin American community, for instance, the knowledge that a Maryknoll priest is expected by his order to assist in the improvement of health is probably more important than a knowledge of the tenets of a Holiness sect in this country. If personally interested, of course, the Holiness preacher may be of great assistance to the agricultural agent.

Power. In the denomination, as in the school system or a factory, power is institutionalized and vested in status-roles in the form of authority. Each official and member has rights of which the change agent will want to be aware. In the sect, power is based more on influence than on authority. A dominating personality such as Joseph Smith or Brigham Young may, because of personal qualities, establish the structure which later institutionalizes their power positions in status-roles. The change agent, to work effectively with either sects or churches, must know which persons are influential. However, in congregations, parishes, and other systems of the church (as opposed to sects), the official positions or status-roles which are invested with authority are more important than in the sect.

Social rank. Elsewhere the authors have attempted to indicate the importance of religious social systems in the establishment of social rank or standing.[33] In general most of the sects have been organized among those of lower social rank or standing. The Catholic Church has been singularly effective in incorporating people of various ranks. The Catholic Church in lower class areas, however, adapts to the life pattern of these areas and is very different in social structure and organizational outlook from those in higher income areas.

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[33] Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 444 ff.

Goldschmidt investigated newly-formed churches composed in large part of migrants from many areas.[34] Church members were classified into (1) professionals, managers and proprietors, (2) farm operators, (3) clerical and similar workers, (4) skilled and semiskilled laborers and unskilled laborers. In this rural California community, classes 3 and 4 comprised most of the members of the schismatic pentecostal churches. The importance of these classes for the various sects and denominations is indicated by the following listing in order of frequency of belonging: Pentecostal, Church of Christ, Assembly of God, Nazarene, Seventh-day Adventist, Christian Science, Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, and Congregational. Located in the Western Specialty-Crop Area, this community studied by Goldschmidt represents the manner in which up-rooted people from other areas adjust to American life. The sect groups, such as the Pentecostal, Assembly of God, and Nazarene, provide members a social solidarity which wards off *anomie* and at the same time furnishes norms which permit self-discipline.

Warner describes the social rank of churches in a small city of 6,000, including its rural hinterland in the Corn Belt as follows: "The seven churches in Jonesville, in order of the class level of their congregations are the Federated (Congregational and Presbyterian), Methodist, Lutheran, Catholic, Baptist, Free Methodist, and Gospel Tabernacle. . . . The class level of the congregation also indicates approximately the position of the church in prestige."[35]

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[34] Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (1944), pp. 348-355.

[35] W. Lloyd Warner and Associates, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 153.

"There is a feeling in American society," Warner continues, "that one of the indicators of respectable behavior is membership in a church. This is particularly true of the middle and upper classes; in the upper class in Jonesville, 77.19 per cent of the families have church affiliation. True, many of them attend services only on special occasions, but they contribute financially and use the church as a symbol of their morality. On the other hand, only 28.05 per cent of the lower-lower families have church affiliation, a fact which is often used as proof of their immoral behavior."[36]

The social rank of churches and their members is crucial to the work of change agents who use them as channels of communication. In a democratic society, negation of religion as the "opiate of the masses" is hardly appropriate. If the classes of a community are "open," it is assumed that an item which a change agent wishes to introduce would spread more rapidly in the long run if the members of the congregation with the highest rank adopt the item first. On the other hand, those items which are first accepted by lower class non-church members, sects, and other religious groups of lower social rank may be thought of as being of low social prestige and value. If this occurs, the spread upward may be extraordinarily slow. However, in the long run, those traits which diffuse to the lower classes with their higher birth rates may predominate.

Sanctions. As one of the functions of religion, Davis states that ". . . it provides an unlimited and insuperable source of rewards and punishments—rewards for good conduct, punishments for bad."[37]

Successful change agents often link improved practices with religious functions. In primitive societies, for instance, the medicine man may be effective in distributing medicines, such as those which control diseases like malaria. Such an operation, however, places the change agent in a dilemma with which sooner or later he must reckon. If the medicine man is basically opposed to scientific medicine as well as the change agent and his organization, the dilemma becomes real. By increasing the power and influence of the medicine man in supplying him with effective drugs, general technological progress in the long run may be retarded rather than accelerated. It is for this reason that the strategy of change must consider carefully the existing value orientation and sanction system. The ends and norms of the change and target systems must eventually converge if social-culture linkage is to be attained. This process will be discussed subsequently, but it is important to note here that the application of the sanctions of religion to the strategy of change is not without its pitfalls.[38]

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[37] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

The sects which provide many people their most important source of favorable self-images and protection from a state of *anomie*, hold powerful negative and positive sanctions over their members. One of the authors, when working with Kollmorgen in the study of an Old Order Amish community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania was told a tragic story of a family which had violated one of the norms. The Older Order Amish, who think of themselves as a people apart—God's plain people—ban the use of automobiles, trucks, electric lights, radios, telephones, and "fancy" clothing. Through seven years of hard work one Amish family had built up a milk route in a nearby city. Disappointment after disappointment followed the hiring of non-Amish persons to furnish the truck and deliver the milk. When it appeared that the route would be lost and after spending many hours in prayer, the family decided to purchase a milk truck in order to make their own deliveries. The family was immediately "shunned" by other members of the Amish sect. The family finally renounced the sect and joined another which permitted the use of a truck. No one in communication with a family during a period when its members are losing meaningful social relations can fail to appreciate the power of religious sanctions of the sects.[39]

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[38] See Michael Pijoan, "Food Availability and Social Function," *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (1942). Pijoan attempted to use medicine men and priests to spread improved medical and technological practices.

When the members of whole societies, as in the case of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, are subjected to similar sanctions we have the bureaucratization of life in the name of political instead of religious institutions. Many of the processes whereby this is accomplished are not different from those which make a denomination or church out of a sect. This is especially true when all sects are forced into one larger religious system.[40]

SOCIAL PROCESSES WITHIN SECTS AND CHURCHES OR DENOMINATIONS

Communication. Some of the differences in the communication system of sects and churches or denominations are rather obvious. Nonetheless, they are important for the change agent. A rumor of war which would threaten the existing life patterns of the Old Order Amish who are conscientious objectors, would spread through the whole sect in Pennsylvania in relatively few hours. A similar rumor could be spread throughout the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for example, by the ministers in their sermons delivered on Sunday. Ordinarily members of the Methodist church would first hear such rumors from other sources, frequently from non-Methodists. The point is that the communication system of the sect is dominated by the religious system and reaches a larger proportion of the members more often than in the case of churches or denominations. Furthermore, the relationships of member to member are more intimate and more all-encompassing in the case of the sect.

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[39] See Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Older Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* Rural Life Studies (Washington, D.C.: USDA, September, 1942). The senior author, one of the directors of the studies resulting in the USDA series "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community," conducted under the leadership of Carl C. Taylor, lived a short time with an Amish family. He accepted the only role available to him as an outsider, that of hired hand. See Loomis and Beegle, *Rural Social Systems, op. cit.,* pp. 11 ff.

[40] Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon—A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952).

However, the denomination or church, under favorable conditions, can reach more people by means other than the church channels of communication. This cannot be done as easily by the sects, which frequently are influenced by fewer mass media and have fewer formal organizational contacts.

Decision-making. Except for the beliefs and dogma, few differences in religious systems are greater than the decision-making procedures. In terms of the extent of involvement of laymen in decision-making, the range extends all the way from the Quakers, for whom consensus in the local congregation is essential, to the Catholic Church where the decision of high officials, especially the Pope is very important. As indicated in the discussion of status-roles and power, decision-making tends to be more dependent upon particularistic elements (especially those involving influential persons) in the sects than in the church or denominations. In the denomination or church there is more place for principles of universality, functional specificity, and affective neutrality. As in the case of other larger bureaucratic organizations, change agents which deal with churches and denominations through their official representatives may be required to use rational arguments. Of course, in either case the ends and objectives of the religious organization must be furthered by the proposal of the change agent.

Boundary maintenance. Few social systems offer greater opportunities for the study of boundary maintenance than do the religious sects. The Old Order Amish, for example, has maintained its solidarity in the heart of an industrial and commercial farming area since colonial times. Among the devices used in achieving this remarkable feat is one common to many systems engaged in boundary maintenance, namely, that of internalized expectations of persecution from the outside. All good Amishmen believe that they are a chosen people who have been martyred and persecuted. Most Amish homes have a record of this martyrdom called *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs' Mirror, of the Defenseless Christians, Who Suffered and Were Put to Death for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Savior, from the Time* *of Christ until the Year A.D. 1660.* The book, which is frequently read, relates how their ancestors were burned at the stake and tortured in various ways. This reminds youth and adults alike of the "unequal yoke." Ironically, the punishments recorded in this book exemplify the most severe of the boundary maintaining activities carried on in the name of the preservation of the dominant religious systems of the day.

The Amish, one of the most successful farming groups in the United States, consider many modern farm and home improvements as immoral. More important than this type of boundary maintenance are the devices for limiting interaction with other systems. Plain clothes without buttons are prescribed for work, church, and visiting. Standardized "plain" grooming and headdress of both sexes set them apart from the non-Amish. Only farming and a few related non-urban occupations are open to children. School beyond the eighth grade or beyond the age of fourteen, non-Biblical books, radio, television, newspapers, membership in non-church organizations, and most other organizational contacts are tabooed.

The function of these various taboos is brought out in the following illustration from the notes of the senior author: An intelligent and alert youth of nineteen years of age kept asking the investigator about motion pictures which are tabooed by the Amish. The investigator asked him why he did not go and see for himself. He said his dress and beard would give him away and everyone would know about it. He related a story about how some boys had sold some of their parents' chickens to get money to sneak into the movies in Lancaster. When the parents heard about it they had the local sheriff arrest the frightened boys for chicken stealing. The boys were permitted to leave the jail only after the parents interceded. This, said the nineteen year old boy, was enough to keep them from trying to learn more about movies.

Although the Amish may have exceptional boundary maintenance procedures, most religious systems have similar devices. The change agent who attempts to introduce change into an

Amish community must know the taboos concerning going to movies, owning a radio, and using a camera, since they are related to group solidarity. If change agents are to use the religious systems as channels of communication, the values as well as the boundary maintenance devices must be known.

Social-cultural linkage. As indicated previously in this chapter, only "farmers' organizations" and "schools" were reported more frequently than "churches and religious organizations" as channels of communication used in conducting adult education programs in rural United States.[41] Another study indicated that nearly 70 per cent of the total social participation of heads of farm families in rural United States was in church affairs. This same study revealed that no other community organization, including school activities, farmers' organizations, and lodges, had as much as 25 per cent of the remaining participation.[42]

Religious agencies which attempt to achieve social-cultural linkage in the United States. The role of the church in the improvement of rural life through adult education has been described by Smucker.[43] The Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, for example, has appealed to rural church members through sentiments relating to the stewardship of land. The Jewish Agricultural Society has attempted to break up the ghettos, to resettle and improve the life of rural Jews. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference is composed of "bishops, priests and lay persons dedicated to the economic, social and spiritual interests of American farmers. It functions as an educational and propaganda agency within the church for the application of the principles of Catholic philosophy to the sphere of agriculture."[44] The Conference attempts to advance programs of rural improvement which square with the value orientation of the Church. Increasing the Catholic population, strengthening the family, farm ownership, increasing and strengthening farm cooperatives, and many other objectives are sponsored and illustrate how a religious organization can use the principle of social-cultural linkage to make changes.

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[41] Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[42] Edgar A. Schuler and Rachel Rowe Swinger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living* (Washington, D.C.: BAE, USDA, 1947), p. 21.

[43] See Orden Smucker, "Adult Education in the Rural Church," in *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 9.

[44] Raymond P. Witte, *Twenty-five Years of Crusading—A History of National Catholic Conference* (Des Moines: The National Catholic Rural Life Conference, 1948), p. 143.

Among the Protestants, programs for the advancement of rural life, education, and related adult education activities in rural areas are not dominated by a single organization. The major Protestant activity bringing together rural church workers in a national organization is the Committee on Town and Country of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. This organization links together twenty-nine national denominations with 193,959 local congregations and 32,000,000 members. Such agencies or systems of the various church organizations have been described to suggest the activity of religious organizations devoted to the improvement of rural life in America.

Religious systems and agricultural improvement. Perhaps the difficulties in social-cultural linkage involving religious systems in underdeveloped countries can best be illustrated by rural India. According to Gandhi, cow worship is "the central fact of Hinduism, the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. . . ."[45] There are, for example, more than 3,000 charitable institutions for old and diseased cows. It is estimated that more than a half million cows are cared for in this manner at a cost of 18 million dollars. To quote further: "The Hindu community outcasts any man who kills a cow or eats her flesh; an exception must be made of some untouchables who will eat the flesh of a cow which has died a natural death. . . . Strong men will be moved to tears by the thought that a cow will be or is being sacrificed by Muslims, even though this is done in strict seclusion so as not to offend Hindu susceptibilities. The sight of a cow being openly led away for sacrifice often rouses Hindus to fanatical frenzy, resulting in bloody riots. . . ."[46] Such religious sentiments must be considered by any change agent attempting to initiate changes in rural India. The difficulties in effecting social-cultural linkage, especially if the change agent and his organization represents Western society, are apparent.

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[45] L. S. S. O'Malley, *Popular Hinduism* (Cambridge: University Press, 1935), p. 14.

HOW THE CHURCH CAN CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

From many experiences each of which could have been presented here as a case, Mark Rich draws upon his vast experience with churches and ministers. The authors have included the following passage, with notations in italics, in order to relate it to their conceptual scheme.

What Does the Church Have to Contribute?[47]

The church can be one of the most effective forces for stimulating wholesome community programs. In history, the church has been closely identified with the community, and the strongest churches can make a great contribution to a community program.

The pastor, a leader. The pastor can be a leader in community affairs. A well-trained minister has many skills and techniques which equip him for such leadership. A poorly trained man can improve himself by attending conferences, by making proper contacts, and by reading. The work of the church and the community are so closely related that every pastor has some time for this leadership. [*Note here that the status-role of the minister is being defined in broad welfare terms. Some churches restrict the professional leaders to church and "other worldly" considerations. This tendency existed among the Franciscan and Dominican orders of the Catholic church in Latin America. On the other hand the priests of the Maryknoll order have the additional concern of health, agriculture, and other "this-worldly" affairs.*]

Church leaders should be community leaders. The church can direct its members to devote themselves to wholesome community activity and service. The worship, teaching, and idealism of the church can inspire a wholesome interest in community progress. [*If church members internalize the values of the church, these ends and norms by their very nature result in community service.*]

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[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

[47] Mark Rich, Secretary, The American Baptist Home Mission Society, in *Making Good Communities Better*, edited by Irwin T. Sanders (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1950), pp. 140 ff.

Make equipment available. The church can make equipment available for community use. The church may be well furnished with dining room, social hall, meeting and recreation rooms, and other equipment. These should be available to the community, usually without cost. [*A specific recommendation for allocation of facilities to uses outside the church which will probably enhance the standing of the church as well as the community.*]

Church, an energizing force. The church can build morale for community living. It is an energizing force, giving people a deep faith in the possibilities of a better community. Young people in particular can be led to see the advantages of improving their home community. [*The values of the church and those of the community being the same, the church should provide energy to move both toward the convergent goals. The church leaders are encouraged to emphasize the values of highest priority in the following paragraphs.*]

Helps people put "first things first" in program planning. The church can help the community planners appreciate constructive programs. This appraisal of programs will determine the nature of the activities in which people engage. A community in which people put "first things first" is likely to see that professional recreational leadership is more important than a large community hall without provision for leadership. Such a community will vote for a music teacher in the high school before spending $2,500 on Fourth of July fireworks. It will employ a swimming instructor rather than license a roadhouse. It will think a library more important than a statue or a cannon on the square.

Emphasizes enduring values. The church will keep before the community the long-time truths and the enduring values, such as character, integrity, and good will. It will help the people keep in mind the valuable lessons from the past and give them a sense of responsibility for the future.

How Can a Church Most Effectively Make These Contributions?

Be aware of the community. In order to serve the community, the church must recognize that the community exists. This community has geographic boundaries, and the people within these boundaries are associated in economic relationships, in culture and sociability. The interest of all should be the interest of each. By giving spiritual meaning to these relationships the church will believe in the community as much as it believes in itself. [*The neighborhood community of the church should be delineated. This will make identification and social-cultural linkage between the church and community easier.*]

Have a program of community service. The church should have a program of service for the community. Its regular services meet part of the community needs. But there are other necessary forms of service. A church at Titonka, Iowa, which led the community toward the solution of the tenantry problem did a notable service. Another church served well when it organized a vacation school in the poor neighborhood on the fringe of the community. Another helped finance a recreation program on the local playground. Churches such as these encourage their members to take part in wholesome community activities. [*Specific examples of action in which the church as change agent carried out programs in which the community was the change target and the success of the programs resulted in social-cultural linkage.*]

Foster cooperative relationships among churches. The church can serve by working with other churches in the community. The good will that grows out of these relationships will in itself give strong unity to the community. The ministers may have regular planning meetings. There may also be a council of representatives from the churches which promotes united church programs on a community basis.

Cooperate with local organizations in community affairs. The church can have active representation on the community council. If there is no council, there can be informal planning with community agencies. A "future dates" column may be listed in the weekly newspaper. The church leaders will graciously help adjust conflicts in schedules. The church will recognize that its divine origin gives it no priority in standing, but commissions it a serving group along with other agencies.

Promote comradeship. The church can minimize cleavages by promoting comradeship and "togetherness" in community life.

Be true to its mission. The church can also serve the community in a unique way by being true to its own purposes. That church which in public gatherings, in daily lives of its members, and in its constant good works, remains true to its mission will do much in giving to a community those ideals and practices by which it will grow strong.

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8

Educational Social Systems

AMONG THE IMPORTANT TASKS IN ALL SOCIETIES IS that of educating the new generation. The family and clique groups in every society assume part of the responsibility, but no "modern" society permits the entire task to be assumed by these groups. In all Western societies elaborate systems have been built for the explicit purpose of educating the young. The character of such an educational system reflects the value orientation of the society producing it.

By education we mean the process by which the cultural heritage is transmitted. Included in cultural heritage are ". . . skills, ideas, reaction patterns, moral values, social attitudes, and the beliefs which constitute citizenship and personality."[1] Since the educational role of the family and clique is treated in Chapters 3 and 4, this chapter will be concerned primarily with those formalized systems established for the purpose of education.

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[1] Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6 (1943), pp. 649-665; see also C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 457.

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

All but a small fraction of the population comes under the influence of the American educational systems for greater or lesser periods of time. In the United States in 1950 approximately 66 per cent of all six-year-olds were in school; at age twelve, 96 per cent, and at age eighteen, 41 per cent of all youth were in school. Approximately one-fifth (19 per cent) of all persons aged twenty were still attending school, as reported in 1950. "Today," says Knight, "it is the largest public enterprise of the American people."[2]

For a large segment of the population the school begins the initiation into the larger society. For many youngsters, preschool social interaction has been restricted largely to family and kinship groupings and to the play group. In the environment of the school, the child learns, often for the first time, to respond to a more impersonal type of authority than he has previously encountered. It is here also that he learns new status-roles—those of student, teacher, and schoolmate, for example. Furthermore, he is in a position to learn the bases of new social ranking systems, not only those within the school system, but also those established by his peers. Even the least perceptive student will observe that a ranking system exists among the teachers themselves, and that the teachers use different criteria to ascertain rank or standing in school work. Therefore, the school must be regarded as a training ground, completely apart from substantive training, for the social order to which the child must eventually adapt himself.

The school is also a training ground of another variety, for the school supplies a meeting ground for diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and social class groups. The child's first contact with groups other than his own often occurs at school. The provision of an opportunity for youth to interact with various segments of the community appears to be an extremely important function of the school system.

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[2] Edgar W. Knight, "The Evolving and Expanding Common School," *The Annals*, Vol. 265 (September, 1949), p. 92.

Irrespective of the truth or falsity of the belief, the feeling is strong in America that education is the answer to all problems. The degree to which education is sought and the amount of money spent for education support this contention. In the words of Wissler: "Our culture is characterized by an overruling belief in something we call education—a kind of mechanism to propitiate the intent of nature in the manifestation of culture. Our implicit faith that this formula, or method, will cause this purpose to be more happily fulfilled, is our real religion."[3]

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS VS. TRADE-CENTER COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

"School-days, school-days, dear old golden rule days, Readin' and 'Ritin' and 'Rithmetic, Taught to the tune of a hick'ry stick," the familiar lines written by Cobb, obviously were intended to eulogize the one-room country school. And certainly for many people from rural and urban areas, the neighborhood school is a place of warm sympathy and cherished memories. The first children on the frontier were taught in neighborhood schools. The organization and construction of a school and the employment, payment, and arrangements for boarding the teacher were among the first collective acts on the frontier. The neighborhood district school, usually with one room and one teacher, is a prototype of Gemeinschaft-like relations. It has always been one of the purest examples of American democracy, representing its weaknesses and strengths.[4]

The original pattern of the school system as developed on the frontier by the American farmer and rancher established the principle of local autonomy firmly in the social fabric. Even today the hiring of teachers and the choice of curricula in both rural and urban areas are the responsibility of local people through democratically elected school boards. Notwithstanding the important function of the norms and standards of state accrediting agencies, in few nations of the world do local people have more direct control over the schools. Where rural neighborhood schools still exist this control is generally greatest.

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[3] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1932), p. 8.

[4] Charles P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), pp. 24-25.

The point was made in Chapter 2 that the most important change in rural locality groups has been the weakening of the intimate neighborhoods and the concomitant growth and increasing importance of the more impersonal trade-center community—a change resulting in large part from the advent of the automobile and improved highways. At the time that the neighborhood school was dominant in rural education, the neighborhood was, of course, the chief focus of mutual-aid of all kinds. House raising, threshing, husking, and many other types of bees and similar cooperative activities were common neighborhood affairs. New families moving into a neighborhood for the first time were visited by their new neighbors, welcoming them into membership in the neighborhood. Likewise, the rural teacher was in a very real sense a member, even though the occupant of a special status-role. Frequently he or she boarded with families in the neighborhood, and occupied the status-role of the neighbor as well as teacher. Indeed the use of the "hick'ry stick" in these schools can be correctly understood only as a delegation of the parent's status-role to the teacher. In this respect the parental surrogate was not supposed to manifest the affectually neutral and bureaucratic motivation of the large system.

THE RURAL SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Territoriality. Any realistic description of the rural public school system of even the most retarded nation or state would involve a complicated meshing of major social systems. That is, the school and other social systems discussed in this text and the many sub-systems of the school system itself would be functionally interrelated. In the United States a realistic discussion of school reorganization and development must differentiate between attendance units and administrative units. In the early days of the frontier the neighborhood school often embraced a single attendance and administrative unit, controlled for the most part by popularly elected school boards.[5]

Insofar as attendance units are concerned, 196,037 or 71 per cent of all public schools in 1917-18 were one-teacher elementary schools, most of which were in rural areas. Thirty years later, the number of one-teacher elementary schools had decreased to 74,944. Nine states—South Dakota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Iowa, Kentucky and Kansas—account for over half of these one-room schools, which are for the most part rural neighborhood schools.[6]

Many professional educators recognize the necessity of retaining the Gemeinschaft-like characteristics of the old neighborhood school through planning attendance areas which correspond to the more dynamic locality groupings. This means that as the older neighborhoods decrease in population and lose their vigor, the attendance area must shift from the neighborhood to the trade-center community. How to retain the advantages of the intimate neighborhood associations and at the same time to take advantage of the efficiencies of larger attendance areas becomes a crucial problem in rural life.

Attendance area standards: norms established by educators. A widely accepted set of minimum standards for attendance areas has been developed by the National Commission of School District Reorganization.[7] According to these standards, even in sparsely populated areas elementary schools should never have less than 100 pupils. The Commission states that even in sparsely settled areas, schools should offer at least four years' instruction, have at least four teachers, and have an approximate average enrollment of twenty-five pupils per teacher. The Commission leaves no doubt that schools smaller than those that meet these standards are disadvantageous for the students that attend them. The United States Office of Education specifies that pupils should "not have to walk more than 1½ or 2 miles to or from school or to ride a school bus more than one hour each morning or evening."[8] Tens of thousands of rural schools are too small or too remotely located to meet these specifications.

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[5] *Your School District, The Report of the National Commission of School District Reorganization* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1948), p. 61.

[6] Walter H. Gaumitz and David T. Blose, *The One-Teacher School—Its Midcentury Status* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 30.

[7] *Your School District, op. cit.*, p. 82.

When financial provision is made as it frequently is for high school education in districts having high schools, the high school attendance area may become the trade-center community. Thus, in "54 Central Michigan villages and cities it was found that the high school attendance area was a more satisfactory single factor in determining a community boundary than any other. . . ."[9]

In many rural communities throughout the nation, the school is a primary integrative agency. In the light of this consideration it would seem obvious that school district reorganization should exercise care to preserve boundaries of communities which are true systems of social interaction. "The high school attendance area should, insofar as possible, be identified with the area in which people associate together in aspects of community life."[10]

The Committee on District School Reorganization and the United States Office of Education maintain that the junior or senior high school should have at least 300 pupils. The latter agency maintains that there should be a minimum of ten teachers and that a slightly longer walking or riding time than that set for pupils in the elementary schools may be set.[11] Such schools would require attendance areas of approximately 6,000 inhabitants.[12] The Commission specified that the minimum "enrollment in schools which have been organized to provide educational opportunities for persons who have completed grade 12 is not fewer than 200 pupils with 10 full-time teachers."[13]

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[9] J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, *High School Communities in Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 289; January, 1938), p. 34.

[10] Shirley Cooper, "Characteristics of Satisfactory Attendance Units," in *Characteristics of Good School Districts*, School of Education, University of Wisconsin (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1948), p. 13.

[11] *Your School District*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Administrative areas. Some thirty-one persons are required to provide the necessary administrative and supervisory functions for an effective educational administrative unit. This number includes the superintendent and the supporting staff; a director of research; supervisors of music, art, and writing, health, manual arts and vocational subjects, household arts, and physical education; a school psychologist; a director of guidance; an adult education coordinator; and a supervisor of transportation. Reeves maintains:

> "No administrative unit should be smaller than the size of a satisfactory attendance area for a good senior high school and if possible for a junior college. . . . The community—that is, the town and country combined—should be the basis of the high school attendance area. There should be no high school administrative units overlapping elementary school administrative units. The same administrative unit should operate both elementary and high schools."[14]

Such a system, ideally, would require the enrollment of from 10,000 to 12,000 pupils. "Median modifications" would permit operation with 5,000 to 6,000 pupils and "maximum modifications" would permit enrollment of 1,500 to 1,800 pupils. Translated into terms of total population the ideal administrative unit would require 50,000 to 60,000 and the maximally modified unit 7,500 to 9,000, a population obviously exceeding that found in many trade center communities.[15]

Obviously, the smallest recommended elementary school attendance area and the general school administrative area, are far larger than the size of the early rural neighborhood. Some small villages today may retain their school and the Gemeinschaft-like relationships, but the trend is toward larger units which provide richer curricula, better instruction, and facilities.

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[12] Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[13] *Your School District, op. cit.*, p. 81.

[14] Floyd W. Reeves, "The High Price of Pride," *Connecticut Teacher*, Vol. 14 (December, 1946), p. 59.

[15] *Your School District, op. cit.*, p. 87.

Ends and objectives. "The fundamental purpose of the schools in every instance is the same—to provide an educational program that will stimulate and guide each individual in developing his abilities to their fullest extent for useful, satisfying living."[16] These are indeed broad objectives. Formerly the ends and objectives of the rural neighborhood school were understood to be the teaching of the three R's. With the growing complexity of modern society and the increasing contact between rural and urban areas, the school's objectives have been broadened and redefined until the school has become the most important socializing agency in the society.[17]

Considering the broad aims of modern education in relation to achievement, "the least satisfactory schools in the United States are now to be found for the most part in rural areas. The rural schools are better than formerly, but under present conditions there is no prospect that the rural areas will be able through their own resources to lessen the wide gap between rural and urban levels of educational service."[18]

Norms. The norms of several social systems influence the teacher and teacher-student relationships. This is true, of course, of many important status-roles in rural and urban society. Thus, the foreman of a factory may be a member of a family, a recreation group, a church, and possibly several other groups which impose different norms for his behavior.[19] As will be indicated in the discussion of sanctions, the teacher may give primacy to the norms of (1) the community, (2) the immediate social system of the school, or (3) the professional organizations and groupings of colleagues. As previously stated, the early neighborhood school was rooted in the neighborhood community and in many respects functioned as an extension of the family. The norms of the school system *per se* and the profession were generally less important than those of the neighborhood community. School discipline, like family discipline, tended to be strict and would now probably be called authoritarian. But there is evidence that rigorous discipline as a part of a general expectancy pattern yields different results than when applied in the impersonal atmosphere of a larger bureaucratic organization. In the neighborhood school the motivation was based more largely upon the personal and often affectual appeal of the teacher than in the trade-center community school. Norms and standards of achievement varied greatly from neighborhood to neighborhood. The cases of teachers being bullied by lower class ruffians in frontier communities attest to the fact that the neighborhood schools were not always controlled as exclusively by the norms of the American middle class as they are today.

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[16] *Your School District, op. cit.*, p. 73.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[18] Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman, *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 7-9.

[19] Delbert Miller and William Form, *Industrial Sociology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 208 ff.

The neighborhood school, like the church, tends to be the conserver of values rather than the initiator of change. Most adults today remember the Scopes trial and how many schools attempted to prevent the teaching of evolution. More recently, some educators see the reflection of enlightenment in the leadership of modern schools. Stouffer, for example, found that the presidents of school boards and of Parent-Teacher Associations (although in general less tolerant of communists, socialists, atheists, and persons accused of radicalism than were some other leaders, such as presidents of library boards, industrial leaders, the newspaper publishers) were much more tolerant than the average citizen. "Not only are more of the people who are moving from youth to middle age better educated than their elders," says Stouffer, "but also they are products both of child-rearing practices and of a school system which is more apt to foster tolerance."[20] For any age group, no factor analyzed was as important in producing tolerance as education—the more education the greater the tolerance. Farm and rural areas and those regions with lower educational attainment and standards, such as the South, were more intolerant than urban areas and areas of higher educational attainment, such as the West and East.

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[20] Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, A Cross-Section of the Nation Speaks its Mind* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1935), p. 107.

There are reasons to believe that the norms of the various social systems responsible for education, especially the schools and the professional organizations of teachers, will have more and more effect upon American rural life. Gee writes that "the best educated state will become the wealthiest, and with proper sort of education, as a result, the most advanced in its civilization."[21] The Committee on Education of the Chamber of Commerce in the United States concludes that "to maintain a representative republic under the system of private endeavor, initiative, and direction, business must discover basically sound measures for the expansion of our dynamic economy . . . ," and that "education as an essential instrument in that expansion, is a challenge to American business."[22] In discussing the norms of education in the United States, we must conclude that education is an end and value in and of itself.

Status-roles. The most important status-roles in neighborhood and large schools alike are those of the student and teacher. We shall center our discussion on the teacher. Only in recent times and in the larger systems have teachers enjoyed many of the privileges of such free professions as law and medicine. The neighborhood teacher has frequently been characterized as a sort of "baby-sitter" who, under the authority of the family and neighborhood community, had charge of the children for a few hours five days a week. In more recent times the larger systems have nurtured the growth of a certain amount of professionalism which permits relatively affectually neutral relationships between student and teacher, at least in the advanced grades. Under such conditions the teacher is held responsible for only

[21] Wilson Gee, *The Social Economics of Agriculture* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 571.

[22] *Education, An Investment in People,* Washington, D.C.: Committee on Education, United States Chamber of Commerce, 1944.

specific functions at specific times, is judged in his performance and rewarded by more universalistic standards of achievement than in the neighborhood school.

Even in the larger, more bureaucratic school systems, however, teachers and school administrators find it necessary to involve the parents. Through participation in the Parent-Teachers Associations and other groups, ways have been developed to keep teachers in the social systems of the community. This is necessary if adequate financial support is to be made available and social linkage between community and school maintained. When the financial support of the school is considered, teachers and administrators are admonished, that ". . . if community groups know that they can turn to the schools for competent help in their educational work, there will come into being a general strengthening of public attitude favorable towards the schools."[23]

It should be emphasized that although the size of the locality to which the school is articulated as a sub-system has changed, the teacher continues to be held accountable to the community. Greenhoe found that living outside the community was disapproved by nearly two-thirds of the school board members, and frowned upon by most of the students as well as by the teachers themselves.[24] School board members disapproved failure to attend church, playing cards for money, or smoking. They also disapproved of single women teachers living in their own apartments.

Lichliter[25] found that 75 per cent of a sample of 232 teachers in thirty-four states objected to their being required to teach Sunday School. These teachers, in about 10 per cent of the cases, reported actual pressure to teach Sunday School and to participate in other church activities. Terrien[26] found that 70 per cent of the New Haven teachers believed that the public expected different conduct from them as teachers and 50 per cent believed that the standards governing their conduct as teachers should differ from those of other citizens. Fifty-two per cent of these teachers found the majority of their associations among other teachers. From these and other considerations, Brookover[27] concludes that, in general, the occupation "may lead to varied effects upon their personalities." We may safely conclude that the rural neighborhood and community exercise more powerful controls over the teacher than urban communities.

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[23] Gordon L. Lippitt and Helen L. Allion, *A Study of Urban Public School Education Programs of the United States*, Washington, D.C.: Division of Adult Education Service, National Education Association, 1952, p. x.

[24] Florence Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers*, Washington, D.C.: American Council in Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 51-59.

[25] Mary Lichliter, "Social Obligations and Restrictions on Teachers," *School Review* (January, 1946), pp. 17 ff.

Brookover maintains that the status-role demands that the teacher maintain dominance and respect but at the same time manifest friendliness. An example given by Brookover illustrates very well how the teacher is expected to maintain dominance and respect: "During my first year as a secondary-school teacher, my immediate supervisor criticized me severely for permitting one of my students, who had known me since he was a small child, to address me by a nickname. This experienced teacher insisted that I would lose the respect of the students and that they would become too familiar with me."[28]

Waller maintained that a good teacher "alternates the authoritarian role with personal roles, and lengthens and shortens the rubber band of social distance with consummate art."[29] Brookover has demonstrated that the authoritarian teacher may impart more information to the student than the non-authoritarian teacher. But he reports that of the 1,270 pupils studied, all but 14 per cent found that teachers reduced the social barrier sufficiently to participate with students in recreational activities. He concludes that "failure to demonstrate facility in either of these roles (authoritarian and friendship roles) may be the basis for disqualification of the teacher by the pupils, patrons, or supervisors."[30]

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[26] Frederick W. Terrien, *The Behavior System and Occupational Type Associated With Teaching* (New Haven: Yale University doctoral dissertation, 1950), p. 201. For a statement of the teacher's personality type, see pp. 402-403. Also see A. B. Hollingshead, "Behavior Systems as a Field for Research," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 4 (1949), pp. 816-822.

[27] W. B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education* (New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 278.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[29] Willard Waller, "The Teacher's Roles," in Joseph S. Roucek, *Sociological Foundations of Education* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942), p. 212.

Unfortunately, the better salaries in the cities attract many of the better rural teachers. The turnover of teachers, for example, has been as much as four times as high in rural schools as in city schools. The more rural and the lower the economic status of counties, the lower the number of years of education teachers have beyond high school. Teachers in the lowest tenth of the counties have completed slightly less than a year of college work, whereas those in the top tenth averaged a little less than four years of college.[31] The typical elementary school teacher in rural areas is a young, unmarried girl, who has only recently left college. She accepts a relatively low salary and is often more interested in finding a husband than in her job.

In 1949 slightly under 20 per cent (19.7%) of all public elementary and secondary school teachers were males. In a handful of states the proportion of male teachers was above one-fourth. Among these states were Washington, Arizona, Idaho, Delaware, Indiana, and Ohio. On the other hand, states such as Vermont, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama reported less than 15 per cent of their teachers to be male.[32] Although the function of the woman teacher in American society is not completely understood, Parsons has hypothesized that it is the female teacher who may have "a significance connected with the process of emancipation from earlier attachments to the mother."

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[30] W. B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *The Journal of Experimental Education,* Vol. XIII, No. 4 (June, 1945), pp. 191-205; and "The Social Roles of Teachers and Pupil Achievement," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 4 (August, 1943), pp. 389-393.

[31] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1952), p. 328.

[32] *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1952* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1952), p. 118.

This he believes to be of particular importance because "dependence on the mother is particularly intense in the American kinship system. . . ."[33]

Power. Although the modern large school system is more often under the domination of the elite of the community than many other systems, the rights of the teacher and the other school functionaries have increased as the trade-center community school has supplanted the neighborhood school. Both student and teacher are more responsible to the impersonal nature of bureaucracy than ever before. Much has been written[34] about the relative merits of what has been called the authoritarian as versus the democratic relationships within the classroom and within the authority structure of the staff of the school system. Brookover observes that ". . . it may be suggested that at the lower-grade levels, children respond to the authoritarian or dominative teacher with resistance and patterns of domination in relation to their peers. At the same level the children respond to the integrative, democratic teacher with initiative, spontaneous contributions, and co-operation. The secondary school youth express unfavorable reactions to the authoritarian teacher, but learn more from him. The opposite is true of their reactions to the friendly, democratic teacher."[35]

The greatest weakness in the current treatment of power in relation to its effect within social systems is the failure to analyze in a systematic manner the situations within which power is applied. The strict teacher in the neighborhood school of earlier times usually conformed to the expectancy patterns of the community, and teachers who behaved in ways that are now called democratic and friendly, were often ridiculed. Their permissiveness usually caused frustration, because students were unaccustomed to or could not predict their behavior. In general, the authority of the typical neighborhood teacher was more Gemeinschaft-like. By this we mean that teacher-student relations were more affectual, more personal or particularistic, and responsibilities were more diffuse. In the larger more bureaucratized trade-center school system, the authority of the teacher in teacher-student relations is more affectually neutral, less personal and more universalistic, and responsibilities are more specific. Attainment of positions of authority is more dependent upon achievement in the profession. Thus, power in the older neighborhood school is of a different order than power in the modern larger school. Most of the misunderstanding in the interpretation of and comparison of the so-called authoritarian and democratic application of power could be overcome if the above sketched sociological or anthropological considerations were employed in its analysis. Consequently, "the vacillation between the authoritarian and democratic definitions of the classroom situation is a reflection of the conflict between educational philosophies that have been labeled 'traditional' and 'progressive.' . . . The attack and counterattack between the two groups continue. The chief characteristic of the American school atmosphere is its continual shifting between authoritarian and democratic leadership and between various degrees of each."[36] The rural neighborhood school has usually been more authoritarian, according to the educator's description, but it has likewise been more Gemeinschaft-like and hence has probably not had the effects claimed for the authoritarian bureaucratic school studied by psychologists.

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[33] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 241.

[34] See for example, Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of Authoritarian and Democratic Group Atmospheres," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare,* Vol. 3 (1940); and Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 74 ff.

[35] Brookover, *The Sociology of Education, op. cit.,* p. 311.

Social rank. Although the rural teacher in the trade-center community school may have higher social rank than the neighborhood school teacher, the status-role of public school teacher does not have high social rank in American society. In fact, of ninety occupations selected from a national cross-section study, there were thirty-five occupations having higher rank. The teacher (thirty-sixth in rank) was only slightly higher than the farm owner and operator (thirty-ninth in rank).[37] Nevertheless, the rural teacher's social rank is higher than his or her power. This is in part no doubt due to the relatively great respect in American society for those having learning. One study[38] places the rural high school teacher on a class level equal to proprietors of businesses valued at from $20,000 to $75,000 and above trained nurses. Certainly the teacher's social rank is relatively higher than those of comparable incomes in business.

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331. Educators are prone to confuse what Parsons and Bales call the instrumental and task leaders with those who are less task-oriented and more expressive. The demand for less "father-like" teachers may reflect the greater hold which the mother has during the period children are developing independence. See Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 116.

Education is widely regarded throughout the United States as a mechanism through which the individual may improve his social standing. For many rural people, education is a requisite in the process of migration and eventual urban adjustment. Education also serves to assist in the process of advancing middle class values. The interrelations of social rank and education are numerous, and thus far a complete study of the ramifications has not been made.

One of the most direct and readily observable associations between social class and education is that all social classes do not have free access to education. Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb[39] have shown that, although the two groups were comparable in intelligence, 57 per cent of those in the upper social status group attended college, while only 13 per cent of those in the low status group did so. In the upper social status group, approximately 7 per cent dropped out of school without completing high school, while in the low social status group 28 per cent dropped out prior to attaining high school graduation.

The same writers also point out that teachers are usually recruited from the middle class and represent middle class values.

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[37] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949), pp. 464 ff.

[38] W. Lloyd Warner, *et al., Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 141.

[39] W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 52.

Their social class background leads them to select these traits in students for praise and approval. Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb state the problem as follows:

> Teachers represent middle class attitudes and enforce middle class values and manners. In playing the role, teachers do two things. They train or seek to train children in middle class manners and skills. And they select those children from the middle and lower classes who appear to be the best candidates for promotion in the social hierarchy. Two groups of children escape this influence in part. Children of upper class parents often do not go to the public schools or drop out after a few years of public school attendance. These children attend private schools or have private tutors. . . . Many children of lower class parents also escape the influence of teachers, through being recalcitrant in school and through dropping out of school just as early as possible.[40]

Sometimes teachers in lower class areas adopt the norms and values of their students but as a rule they attempt to transfer to middle class schools. When they fail to do so, they often leave the teaching profession.[41]

Sanctions. The rewards for teaching, particularly salaries, are low considering the training and intelligence required for the status-role. This is particularly true for rural teachers. Although the data have not been adjusted for price changes, the amounts spent for teachers' salaries and for education have increased tremendously. In 1949 the average annual salary per teacher in public elementary and secondary schools was $2,846. Per capita expenditure for education amounted to $33.69 for the total population, and per capita expenditure per pupil enrolled in school amounted to $203.96.

A recent report[42] on rural teachers indicates that they, like their students, are disadvantaged in respect to living facilities, incomes, and other items when compared with urban teachers. One-fourth of the elementary teachers live in places that do not have an indoor toilet, bathtub, or shower; a fifth do not have running water, and over a third do not have a telephone. Rural secondary teachers are less disadvantaged in these respects and more frequently live in the districts in which they teach.

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[41] Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57 (1952), pp. 470-477.

[42] *Rural Teachers in 1951-52*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1953).

In a study of involvement as related to teacher stress, Washburne[43] attempted to appraise the importance of: (1) economic gain and security; (2) status in the community; (3) authority or recognition and approval by varying agents of authority within the school system; and (4) professional status of orientation toward teaching as a profession. Obviously achievement in any one of these areas might be regarded as rewarding; failure to achieve might be regarded as penalizing. The important fact is that attempting to achieve in all areas simultaneously might well bring stress. Washburne's study of a small group of men teachers in a city school concludes that a teacher "is caught in the center of a confused mixture of orders which place conflicting demands on him. Stated over-simply: He is caught between the structural demands of bureaucratic organization, the traditional demands of the community, and a series of 'ideal' demands associated with the profession."[44] It is the thesis of the present authors that the pressures from the community are greater in the rural schools. Brookover concludes that "The chances of stress are probably less in large school systems, where authority is more clearly defined in a bureaucratic structure and where the teacher's relations with the community are less personal. At the other extreme, the teachers of the small, one-room rural school can also probably identify with a predominant source of authority more easily. It is in the great number of town and village schools that role conflict seems most likely to occur."[45]

Facilities. With respect to improvement in the facilities we accept the appraisal of Butterworth and Dawson that "the rural schools in most respects have remained a decade or more behind the urban schools."[46] From their statement that "About half the public-school teachers are employed in schools located in rural areas,"[47] we have a correct evaluation of the consequence of the rural lag. Of course, the rural neighborhood schools are more disadvantaged than the larger rural schools. Without going into detail we may conclude that for the United States as a whole even the reorganized rural district schools are inferior to those in urban areas. Teachers' salaries are lower, teachers' preparation inferior, school terms shorter, library services poorer, health services and remedial care more limited, and availability of high school training more inadequate. The statement that "The least satisfactory schools in the United States are now to be found for the most part in rural areas,"[48] still holds.

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[43] Chandler Washburne, *Involvement as a Basis for Stress Analysis: A Study of High-School Teachers* (East Lansing: Michigan State College doctoral dissertation, 1953).

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[45] Brookover, *The Sociology of Education, op. cit.*, p. 284.

PROCESSES INVOLVING SOCIAL ACTION IN THE RURAL SCHOOL

Communication. For no social system is there as much knowledge concerning communication and interpersonal and intergroup relations as for the school. The friendship choices of twelfth-grade students in a trade-center school in rural Michigan are shown in Figure 26.[49] Under an aggressive program designed to integrate rural and urban families into a cooperative community, cleavages between these resident groups were reduced to a minimum. The friendship choices of the students, as shown in Figure 26, indicate that the general interaction of the trade-center community is reflected in the interaction and related communication of students within the school. In this in-

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[46] Julian E. Butterworth and Howard A. Dawson, *The Modern Rural School,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 4.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. vii.

[48] Reeves, *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, op. cit.,* p. 7.

[49] For other sociograms describing relationships between farm, rural-nonfarm, and town students see: Charles P. Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950), Chapter 12.

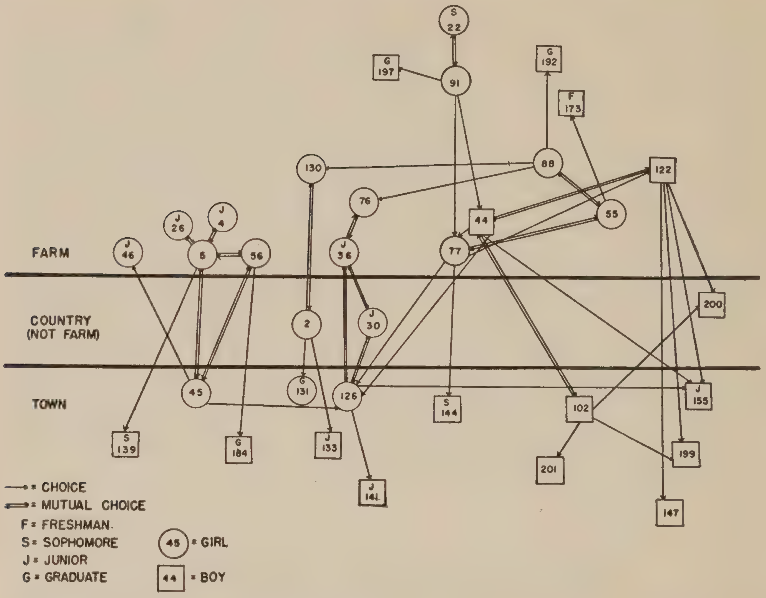
S 22
G 197
91
G 192
F 173
130
88
122
76
55
J 26
J 4
44
FARM
J 46
5
56
J 36
77
200
COUNTRY (NOT FARM)
2
J 30
TOWN
45
G 131
126
S 144
102
J 155
S 139
G 184
J 133
201
199
J 141
147
→ = CHOICE
⇒ = MUTUAL CHOICE
F = FRESHMAN
S = SOPHOMORE
J = JUNIOR
G = GRADUATE
45 = GIRL
44 = BOY

Figure 26. Sociogram Showing Friendship Choices of the Twelfth-Grade Students According to Residence, Edmore High School, Michigan. (Source: M. G. Becker and C. P. Loomis, "Measuring Rural-Urban and Farm and Non-farm Cleavages in a Rural Consolidated School," *Sociometry*, Vol. 9, No. 3, August 1948.)

stance, school reorganization about a village of 825 inhabitants has not produced a town-country division. The interaction patterns of the students show few cleavages and resemble the neighborhood schools of the past. Other studies by the authors have analyzed important cleavages among ethnic groups in the school.[50]

Hollingshead has shown how the rural population of a trade-center community area surrounding a town of approximately 6,000 population fits into the class structure. In Hollingshead's five classes, most of the farmers fall into the two classes above the bottom class. The farm owners tend to fall in the third class from the top and the farm tenants in the fourth class from the top. He finds "country youth are not essentially different from those of town dwellers" but does state that rural cliques are smaller in size than the cliques made up of town or mixed-country adolescents. "What the town adolescent does with his 3 or 4 pals, the country youth does with 1 or 2, for the quality and function of the relationships entailed in the smaller cliques are not different from those in the larger ones."[51] From the social psychological and cultural anthropological points of view, differences in the size of cliques in the formative years may be of great importance. Distances between home and the necessity to help with the operation of the farm enterprise tend to restrict the size of non-family clique groupings in rural areas.[52] That this is not reflected in the school communication pattern should not be dismissed as unimportant.

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[50] Charles P. Loomis, *Studies in Rural Social Organization* (East Lansing: College Book Store, 1945), Chapter 17.

Jennings[53] has demonstrated that under classroom arrangements which encourage interaction, cliques may be enlarged and the number of isolates decreased. Other studies have shown that by directed interaction cleavages of most types in school and learning situations can be decreased.[54] This appears to be of considerable significance for trade-center community schools in which town and country cleavages are great. It is scarcely possible to overestimate the importance of integrating into one communication system both rural and urban children who will control the social and economic systems of the community in the future.

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[51] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), p. 208.

[52] For an analysis of socialization of children in various sized families living in an area of very large farms see: Loomis, *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science, op. cit.*, Chapter 5; originally published with W. B. Baker and Charles Proctor in *Sociometry*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1949).

[53] Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations, A Work Guide For Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948).

[54] Dale Faunce and J. Allan Beegle, "An Experiment in Decreasing Cleavages in a Relatively Homogeneous Group of Rural Youth Members of the Michigan Junior Farm Bureau," *Sociometry*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1948), pp. 207 ff.

Decision-making. Although there is considerable information on decision-making and establishment of norms among students in classes and in extracurricular activities we shall not dwell upon this here. Most reports reveal that rural people are not as active as the town people in decision-making which affects school policy. Many factors are responsible for this, one of the most important being that the other nonfarm economic and social agencies, such as banks, stores, and businesses, are usually owned and operated by townspeople. When no reorganization takes place, and high school attendance areas develop on the basis of the size of the trade-center school and ability of neighborhood districts to pay tuition, the middle class in the trade-center rather than the rural people are in control. Under these conditions rural people are disenfranchised.

In most large centers the professional school teaching and administrative staff members are not as important in decision-making for the school and community as are the businessmen and political leaders. In general, the teachers, often with superior knowledge and frequently with considerable experience, rank relatively low in power in the community, outside the school itself. Their power is also low in the final determination of school support and facilities.[55] However, school administrators must have access to the systems and persons of power in order to operate the schools. To be successful, they must establish working relationships with potentates in the communities. For this reason change agents may learn from the school administrator whom he finds influential in his program. If powerful leaders rely upon the school personnel to judge merits of educational programs, as they frequently but by no means always do, the change agent who is introducing changes related to education may have to clear with the important school representative.

Boundary maintenance. With respect to boundary maintenance, the school as a system seems to be in a very difficult position. Since the professional and administrative personnel have relatively little power in the community, great emphasis must be placed upon gaining community support. This means that the professional status of the teacher and the school administrator in many instances is of less importance than being on good terms with persons influential in the community and with influential parents. Moreover, the public school and those who support it attempt to prevent the system establishing closure through boundary maintenance. Thus community colleges often find it difficult to develop high standards for academic freedom because of community linkage with the educational system. An attempt is made to have parents participate in programs, visit classes, and insofar as possible determine policy. Since support for the school depends upon good public relations, and since the teacher and administrator have not established their own areas of competence as superior to those of the citizens, there is usually much greater interference with the teacher's performance of his role by persons outside of the immediate school system than would be permitted by such professional groups as doctors and lawyers.

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[55] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure—A Study of Decision-Makers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

Social-cultural linkage. Few social systems are used more by change agents to reach out into the community than are the schools. A very effective and important rehabilitation project in Macedonia made the schools an important means of communication in order to reach all the people in the villages.[56] Another project carried on by the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences made the rural school teacher the chief change agent for all community activities.[57] Many change agents in the United States use the schools as channels of communication. In the study of adult education in rural areas, referred to previously, many aspects and potentials of social-cultural linkage involving the schools were revealed.

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[56] Harold B. Allen, *Come Over Into Macedonia* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1943).

[57] Charles P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953). See Chapter 10, "Educational Systems," by Eduardo Arze Louriera and Roy A. Clifford.

PATTERNS OF RURAL AND URBAN ATTAINMENT

According to *Current Population Reports,*[58] 2.7 per cent of the total population fourteen years old and over was illiterate. The percentage for the urban population was only 2.0 while that for the rural-farm population was 5.3. Illiteracy rates among males were slightly higher than those among females. Although literacy rates for the United States are not as high as those of some westernized nations, they far exceed those of underdeveloped countries. In Mexico, less than half of the population can read or write. There are over 546 municipalities in which the proportion of illiteracy exceeds 70 per cent. In general literacy decreases as one travels south from the U.S.-Mexican border. The very highest rates of literacy are at the border itself. In cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants, illiteracy is only 20.5 per cent; in municipalities having no urban population the percentage is 65.9.[59]

Levels of educational attainment, of course, are lower among farm than among urban people. Since farming is less professionalized and bureaucratized, schooling is generally thought to be less essential than in many urban-centered occupations. Levels of schooling on the part of persons twenty-five years old and over in 1950, for rural-farm and urban residents, are shown in Table 12. This table reveals a number of interesting differences. Slightly over 3 per cent of the rural-farm residents, as compared with 2.3 per cent of the urban residents, have had no schooling. At the same time, only about 7 per cent of the rural-farm population and 15 per cent of the urban population either have had some college training or have been graduated from college. Three-fifths of the rural-farm population, as compared with two-fifths of the urban population, has completed eight grades or less of school.

Perhaps the most concise measure of educational attainment is the median number of school years completed by persons

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[58] *Current Population Reports,* Series p-20, No. 20 (1948).

[59] Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 417-420.

TABLE 12

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, URBAN AND RURAL-FARM RESIDENCE, UNITED STATES, 1950

Years of School Completed	*Percentage Completing Specified Grades* *United States Total*	 *Urban*	 *Rural-Farm*
Total persons, 25 years old and over	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	2.5	2.3	3.1
Elementary School			
1 to 4 years	8.3	6.8	13.4
5 and 6 years	9.1	8.0	12.8
7 years	6.8	6.0	9.7
8 years	20.2	18.7	25.7
High School			
1 to 3 years	17.0	17.6	14.1
4 years	20.2	22.6	13.0
College			
1 to 3 years	7.2	8.0	4.4
4 years or more	6.0	7.2	2.2
Not Reported	2.7	2.7	1.6

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: *1950, General Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Table 44.

twenty-five years old and over. The medians for rural and urban groups for 1950 are summarized in Table 13. This table shows that median numbers of school years completed are invariably lower for the rural-farm than for the urban population. The rural-nonfarm medians fall between these two extremes.

Regional variations in educational attainment. Levels of at-

TABLE 13

MEDIAN NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, COLOR, AND RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENCE, UNITED STATES, 1950

Sex and Color	*Median Number of School Years Completed* *Total*	 *Urban*	 *Rural-Nonfarm*	 *Rural-Farm*
TOTAL	9.3	10.2	8.8	8.4
Males	9.0	10.0	8.7	8.3
Females	9.6	10.3	9.0	8.6
White	9.7	10.5	8.9	8.6
Non-Whites	6.9	7.8	5.5	4.8

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population: *1950, General Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Table 44.

tainment, of course, vary from one part of the country to another. In general, the western states have higher educational levels than any other part of the country, and the levels of attainment are lower in the south, particularly in the Cotton Belt, than elsewhere. In 1950 the highest median numbers of school years completed by persons twenty-five years old and over were reported by the following states: Utah, 12.0; California, 11.6; Nevada, 11.5; Washington, 11.2; Colorado, 11.1. The lowest median levels were reported in the following states: South Carolina, 7.6; Louisiana, 7.6; Georgia, 7.8; Alabama, 7.9; and North Carolina, 7.9.

Average per pupil expenditures for full-time public elementary and secondary schools in 1951 averaged $224 for the United States. The range was from $328 in New York to only $93 in Mississippi.[60] See Figure 27.

THE SCHOOL AS A CHANGE AGENT

The role played by the school in changing community attitudes and practices is the primary theme of the case study excerpted below. Cullman, Alabama, located in the hill country of the Deep South, is the setting for the events described.

THE MOUNTAIN COMES TO SCHOOL[61]

It is difficult to imagine in present-day America a more isolated community than that served by the Cold Springs School. To the natural barriers of mountain ranges and ravines are added such obstacles to intercourse with the outside world as no telephone lines, no bus or railroad within fifteen miles, and roads poor enough to discourage any but the most optimistic motorist. The people have moved out of the ravines to the mountain top. Here they live on a plateau twenty-five by fifteen miles in area. [*Only special means of communication would seem appropriate in view of territoriality considerations.*] Seventy per cent of them own their farms. [*Custom-*

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[60] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 116.

[61] Jean and Jesse Ogden, *Small Communities in Action* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 176-185.

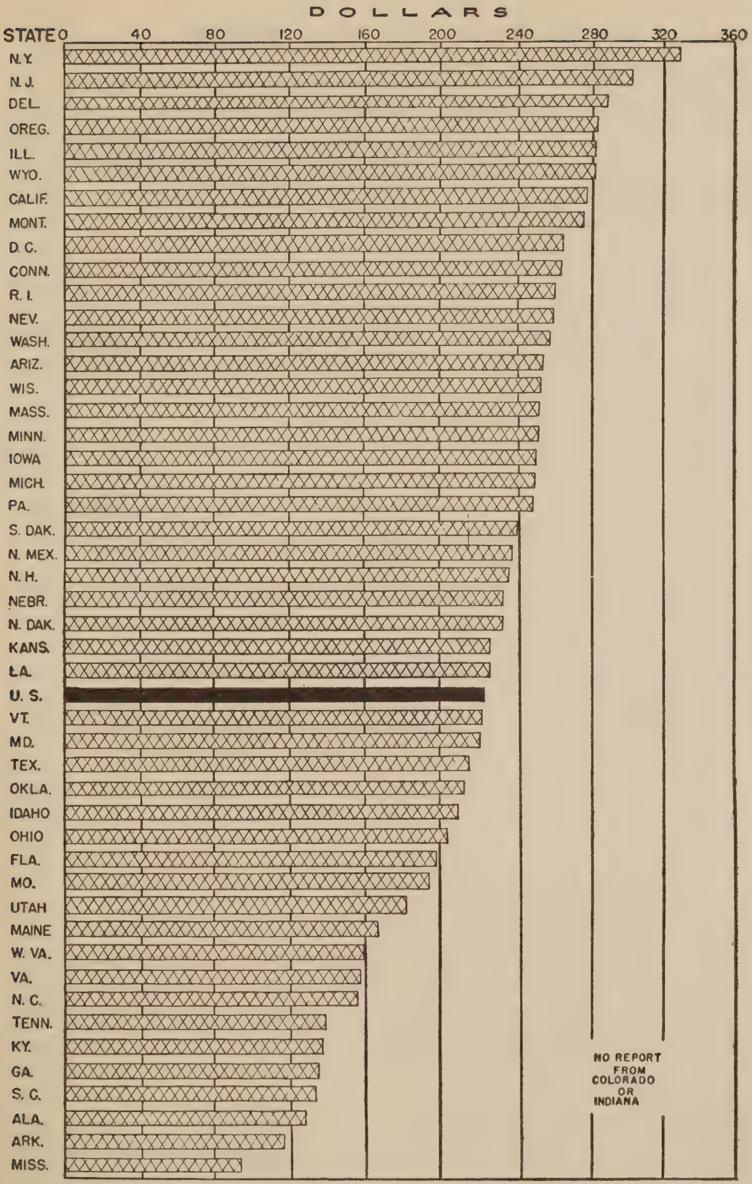

Figure 27. Average Current Expenditure per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1951. (Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954,* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 116.)

arily a basis for ranking in rural America.] One hundred per cent of them are white. Their educational background is limited, but according to one who has worked with them for many years they are "independent, frank, and downright honest." They are Republican in a Democratic county. They hint that there may be some relation between this fact and their poor roads.

For twelve years the school has been developing as a community center. The process of change is often relatively slow. A modern frame structure built in 1932 houses the consolidated elementary school. In 1935 junior high grades were added making high school work available for the first time. In 1936 a senior high school became a reality with the erection of a modern, steam-heated brick building with a large auditorium. Since that time there have been added a six-room brick building for the vocational department and a comfortable and modern residence where as many as eighteen teachers may live cooperatively. The school grounds comprise eighteen acres with forest plats, demonstration orchard, nursery, demonstration garden, and adequate playground space. . . .

The earliest, and perhaps the most difficult, single community program undertaken by the school was the attack on hookworm which began in 1936 when the high school opened. In cooperation with the principal and the director of health and physical education, the senior class undertook a survey covering a ten-mile radius and including 938 persons. [*Note indications of status-roles and social rank.*] The survey brought out many interesting facts concerning educational background, housing, leisure-time interests, diet, church membership and attendance, and health. The prevalence of hookworm disease showed it to be a major problem. Two other facts revealed in the survey were related to this: (1) only 46.6 per cent of all the homes had *any kind* of toilet and a very small per cent of those that existed were sanitary; (2) 88 per cent of high school boys, 86 per cent of high school girls, and a large number of adults went barefoot most of the year. These are the two most important factors in hookworm infestation. The health education instructor decided to go to work on the problem. Treatment was useless unless there could be a plan to prevent reinfestation. A single home which did not make proper provision for sewage disposal would remain a menace to dozens of neighboring families who had taken care of their own problems. Any program must involve changing the habits and attitudes of an entire community which did not accept change readily. [*Changes in ends and norms were involved.*] The whole subject was one which did not lend itself easily to public discussion and which required great tact and careful handling.

The starting point was in the health education classes where hookworm was one of many diseases discussed. Tuberculin vaccinations, and dental clinics helped to build a matter-of-fact attitude toward health problems in general and paved the way for consideration of hookworm to the world, to the nation, to the state, to the community, and finally to themselves as individuals. Toward the end of the year, scientific attitudes had developed to a degree that made it possible to get the cooperation of the pupils in submitting to tests. The County and State Health Departments helped carry out this part of the program. Treatment was prescribed for those infested. It was unpleasant, but almost everyone carried it through. It had taken a year to get to this point.

In the beginning of the second school year (1937-38), pupils were eager to know whether they had become reinfested and they were now willing to discuss the problem in the open. Tests and treatment were continued. Older boys were taken to the state laboratory to see how analysis was made and to learn, if possible, to do it in the school science laboratory.

But the time had now come to take a corrective program to the community. The boys suggested the construction of sanitary toilets *since shoes were an economic impossibility for everyone.* A project was set up under the supervision of the health and agriculture teachers and the sanitary engineer of the County Health Department. Cheap lumber was needed. A lumberman offered a group of sheds he was vacating in return for having the whole millyard cleaned by the boys. Soon sixty sanitary toilets had been constructed at the school and transported to homes. Pupils discussed the program with their parents and friends. The agriculture teacher took it up in his evening classes. These classes asked for a demonstration in construction. Several neighborhood demonstrations were given also. The school offered to supervise construction for any family. Families not reached in any of these ways had the program interpreted to them in a house-to-house canvass. [*The part played by effective communication as a step in linking school and community was recognized and well conducted.*] No plan was ever suggested which was beyond the financial reach of the family concerned. The construction program continued. Existing hookworm infestation among school children had been reduced from 54 per cent to 1 per cent. Danger of reinfestation had been greatly reduced by additional sanitary facilities. [*Social-cultural linkage between the school system and the community was effective.*]

The program had succeeded because the health instructor, who was primarily responsible for it, had a sympathetic understanding of community habits and attitudes; gave to students and adults scientific background for understanding the problem; and made possible by the school's conviction that "an educational program, whether in health or any other subject, that cannot undergo the test of changed habits, ideals, attitudes, and usefulness in the pupils' lives can hardly be justified."

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9

Governmental Social Systems

IN NO SOCIETY IS THERE UNRESTRICTED FREEDOM TO resort to force. At the same time, no society has been able to eliminate the use of force completely. The most important function of government is that of institutionalizing the use of force and power among individuals and groups, to the end that law and order is established and certain services provided. According to Parsons, "No society can subsist unless there is a basis for 'counting on' some control of the use of force. . . ."[1]

Usually the governmental unit or social system which provides law and order through the institutionalization of social power and the monopolization of authority includes a population occupying a definite land area within which this social system may exercise one or all of the following: right of taxation, eminent domain, police power, and/or penal power. The governmental system carries on one or all of the functions of law enforcement, education, public health, social welfare, highway construction and regulation, and promotion of welfare in the fields of agriculture, labor, industry, and commerce. In the final analysis, since control over and exercise of force (as for example incarceration of criminals) are physical acts, most governmental social systems are territorial units bounded in space.

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[1] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 162.

UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

The units of government and their systems may be thought of as functioning in tiers, all operating within definite geographic boundaries. In the United States the following units are prevalent, with the tiers or layers that cover the largest areas listed first:[2]

A. *Units of central government*
  1. The nation
  2. The states

B. *Units of local government*
  3. The counties (and parishes)
  4. Cities, villages, boroughs, incorporated towns, towns, and townships
  5. School districts
  6. Other special districts

Primary attention is given local units of government in this chapter. Figure 28 shows that few people in the United States are in intimate contact with more than two levels of local goverment, exclusive of those involving education. These two levels are the county, which is an important unit of government for more than 98 per cent of the farm population, and the city, village or township, the latter of which is an important unit of government for about 10 per cent of the farm population.[3]

THE COUNTY AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Counties may range in population from one or two thousand to several million people; they range in area from one square

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[2] William Anderson, *The Unit of Government in the United States* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, Publication No. 84, 1942), p. 10.

[3] T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 441.

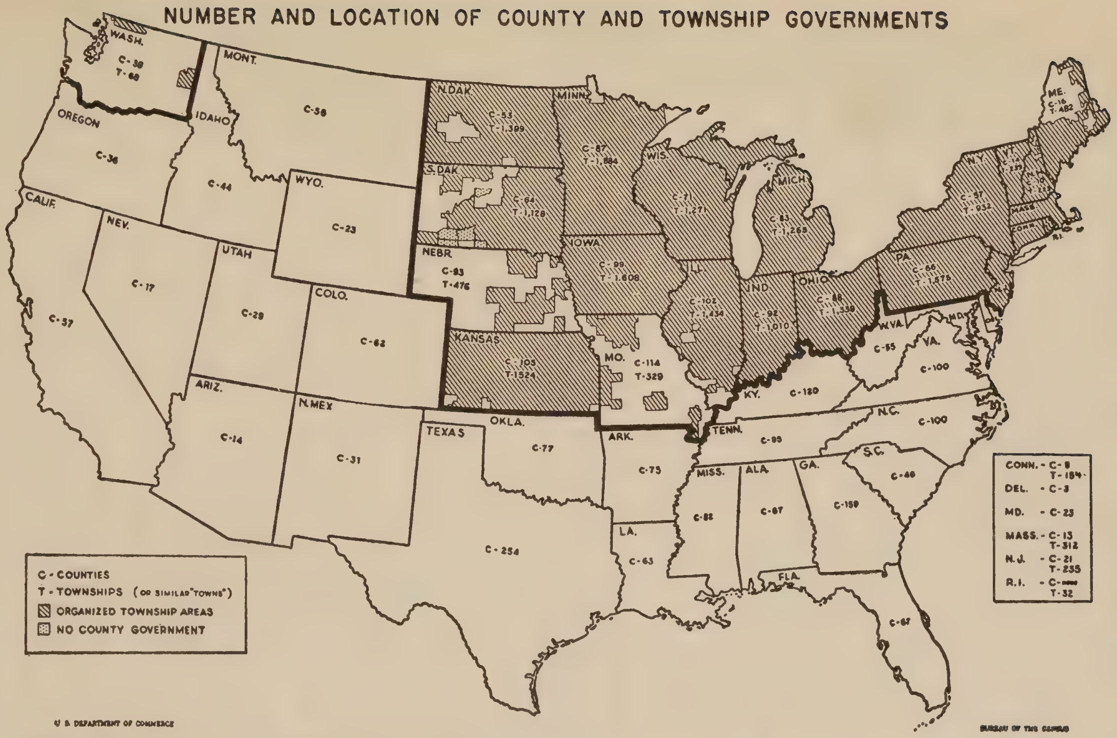
NUMBER AND LOCATION OF COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENTS
WASH.
C-39
T-68
OREGON
C-36
CALIF.
C-57
NEV.
C-17
IDAHO
C-44
MONT.
C-56
WYO.
C-23
UTAH
C-29
COLO.
C-62
ARIZ.
C-14
N.MEX
C-31
N.DAK.
C-53
T-1,399
S.DAK.
C-64
T-1,128
NEBR.
C-93
T-476
KANSAS
C-105
T-1524
OKLA.
C-77
TEXAS
C-254
MINN.
C-87
T-1,884
IOWA
C-99
T-1,608
MO.
C-114
T-329
ARK.
C-75
LA.
C-63
WIS.
C-71
T-1,271
ILL.
C-102
T-1,434
MICH.
C-83
T-1,265
IND.
C-92
T-1,010
OHIO
C-88
T-1,338
KY.
C-120
TENN.
C-95
MISS.
C-82
ALA.
C-67
GA.
C-159
FLA.
C-67
S.C.
C-46
N.C.
C-100
VA.
C-100
W.VA.
C-55
MD.
PA.
C-66
T-1,575
N.J.
N.Y.
C-57
T-932
VT.
C-14
T-239
N.H.
C-10
T-223
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
ME.
C-16
T-482
C - COUNTIES
T - TOWNSHIPS (OR SIMILAR "TOWNS")
▨ ORGANIZED TOWNSHIP AREAS
▩ NO COUNTY GOVERNMENT
CONN. - C-8
T-154
DEL. - C-3
MD. - C-23
MASS. - C-13
T-312
N.J. - C-21
T-235
R.I. - C-——
T-32
U S DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Figure 28. **Number and Location of County and Township Governments, 1942.** (Source: Bureau of the Census. *Governmental Units in the United States, 1942,* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.)

mile to twenty thousand square miles; their governing boards have twenty-seven different titles and are composed of memberships ranging from one to fifty.[4]

Counties may also resemble each other. From the smallest to the largest they are handling greater sums of money. They are charged with increasingly diverse duties, and are proliferated with a growing number of special-function boards. Certain federal and state legislation, notably that dealing with public welfare and public health, depends upon the county for partial execution of its provisions and thus tends to standardize certain segments of county activity.

THE TOWNSHIP AND THE TOWN

Although many have idealized the town meeting and other features of the towns in New England, the township and the town meeting as they exist today, find few supporters. Thus, Anderson and Weidner write: "Man has become too busy for town meetings. In an age of specialization, he demands that his representatives do the principal debating and deciding. If town meetings are held, he responds in most instances by not attending."[5] In those states (New Jersey, New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin) where the coexistence of township and county tends to splinter local government, townships are besieged by two opposing ills. Many are too small, both area-wise and population-wise to have sufficient tax monies to perform services. Others are in fringe areas near large cities, endowed with population, resources, and tremendous need for services, but are unable to perform them adequately because of the limited duties turned over to townships by state law. In the one case there is not enough to warrant a separate unit of government and in the other there is too much for the township to handle.

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[4] William Anderson and Edward W. Weidner, *State and Local Government in the United States* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951), pp. 458-462.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

BASIC NATURE OF RURAL GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The bases of our local governmental units, laid down in an agricultural, comparatively non-mobile era are essentially Gemeinschaft-like in character. As our countryside has become more urbanized and the jobs we expect of government more varied and regulatory, the Gesellschaft-like influences have been felt. Our expectations of local government performance seem to be dual, and we alternately ride each horn of the dilemma.

> . . . the traditional theory of democracy in the United States has emphasized the importance of keeping the conduct of the public services, which are the real ends of all local government, constantly under the scrutiny of the community. . . . On the other hand, it has become apparent that a multiplicity of governmental units tends to defeat efforts to obtain economy and efficiency in the conduct of public affairs. Communities are created which have neither the population nor the tax paying capacity to support the essential local services. Within these communities the ends of local self-government cannot be achieved and the democratic ideal becomes impossible of fulfillment.[6]

The reader will at once recognize the *Gemeinschaft* concept in the ideal of constant community scrutiny of the conduct of public services. What stretches of road are going to be improved? How much will it cost? When do they expect to do mine? It might be easy enough to elicit an answer to queries such as these, but to find out all that's entailed in laws involving herd inspection, stream pollution, the creation of a county health department, or the maintenance of standards of a local hospital is a little more difficult. The citizen bent upon keeping tab on his local government will need contact with some board member or county supervisor or other official; some official who is not too busy to stop and chat in the post office, some board member who has time to sit around the courthouse to hear most of what's going on, a person who's easy to say "hello" to, and who makes a man feel he has a right and a duty to hear all the news about what's happening in the courthouse. That's Gemeinschaft-like local government.

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[6] William S. Carpenter, "The Problems of Service Levels," *The Annals*, Vol. 292 (May, 1954), p. 127.

The reader will also recognize the *Gesellschaft* elements of the above quotation in "the efforts to obtain economy and efficiency in the conduct of public affairs." A man gets irritated at needless bungling. "If our ordinary representatives to county government can't take care of first things first, buy wisely, and cut out foolish duplication, then let them hire a businessman who can. I'm willing to pay a fair share of taxes but I want to get my money's worth." Such statements show the Gesellschaft-like operation of local government.

Any analysis of the local governmental social system can be successful only as long as the often contradictory character of local government is remembered. The presentation of the dilemma can be made in yet another way. Because the ideas and ideals of a people about their government are put into action in the persons of elected or appointed officers, it is fruitful to do a little searching into what results can be expected from particular kinds of officials. James L. McCamy reviews the situation as follows:

> How can the rest of us judge when we do not know much about what government does? The answer is that we are more dependent upon the *responsiveness* of executive officials to public desires and needs. And if we get the most for our tax dollar, we are also dependent upon public officials to be as *efficient* as they can without failing to be responsive. For I take it that we Americans still prefer responsiveness to efficiency. We want government to do what we need and want it to do. We count the cost second.[7]

The responsive official is obviously Gemeinschaft-oriented. His finger is on the pulse of his community; his ear is down at the grass roots. He listens, he tells, and he acts. He tries very hard to act within the limits of broad acceptance of the majority of his constituents.

> Unpopular decisions are avoided if possible, and if they have to be made in the public interest, they are made only after searching for

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[7] James L. McCamy, "Responsiveness versus Efficiency in Public Service," *The Annals,* Vol. 292 (March, 1954), p. 34.

> all the other ways that might serve the purpose and also hold or gain votes. If anyone doubts the power of periodic elections let him watch intimately a sophisticated political executive (not a disinterested novice who was appointed for other skills than politics). Voters are Very Important People to politicians. . . . If the public servants at all levels, both civilian and military, recognize their duty to both responsiveness and efficiency, we are safe from obeisance to a bureaucracy that puts efficiency first. Our concern as a nation should be to keep the bureaucracy filled with the kind of human beings who want to be responsive as well as efficient. A chemical engineer in charge of water purification should have the ingrained attitude of responsiveness. . . . [He might] protect lives perhaps more efficiently with some foul tasting chemical, but he should not even want to.[8]

This dual expectation of job performance in government is illustrated also in the following contrast by Bernard between "politician" and "bureaucrat."

> There is sometimes bad blood between men who have obtained their jobs by the competition of political campaign and those chosen by the competition of a merit system—between the "politicians" and the "bureaucrats." The politicians dislike the aloof, technically competent, and sometimes condescending bureaucrats. The latter resent the hurly-burly methods and attitudes of the politicians and the pressure sometimes put on themselves to do favors for the politicians' friends. The politicians keep repeating that the bureaucrat "has never won an election." The bureaucrat criticizes the politician for his constant ear-to-the-ground attitude and his personal rather than impersonal approach to problems. Both types of competition, in fact, produce roughly the type of personality called for. The politician has to be responsive to his constituents even when they are, in his opinion, wrong. He represents the human and the personal side of government. He can make decisions. He can cut through "red tape." The bureaucrat has no constituents. He is checked by rules and regulations, not by vote-getting considerations. We need both types.[9]

In comparison to the state and federal government, the local political scene has been dominated by the "politician" rather than by the "bureaucrat." Thus, Anderson and Weidner write:

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

[9] Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior* (New York: Dryden Press, 1949), p. 240.

The age of specialization, professionalization, and efficiency has not yet reached most of the counties in the United States. With a few notable exceptions, the atmosphere, organization, and procedures of counties as far as the elective offices go are very similar to those of fifty years ago. Most county coroners do not use modern methods of inquiring into deaths that seem to be questionable. Some assessors have improved their techniques, but many still resist the use of aerial surveys and other devices for checking property valuations for tax purposes. Registrars of deeds are likely to be painstakingly copying by hand various records that could be photographed much more easily and efficiently. The sheriff is likely to be using old rule-of-thumb methods of crime detection.[10]

As the special jobs assigned to the county have become more numerous, the need has grown for the bureaucrat. Special boards, commissions and bureaus, generally with a special-purpose staff under their supervision, have become common on the county level.

Special-function boards at the county level. Perhaps the most important development in county government, especially in recent years, is the growth of special-function boards and commissions attached to the local units of government. Their growth as separate agencies related to the county governing boards is to be accounted for by the lack of trust higher levels of government have for the local units as well as by the desire on the part of the higher level units to retain control.

In the typical case, a state legislature vests in the county a function, such as health, welfare or planning, in which there is both state and local interest. It not only makes the performance of this function compulsory, but specifies that a structure such as a welfare board be established to administer the activity. The relation of the special-function board to the county governing body varies. At one extreme the governing body of the county may provide detailed supervision and financial control; at the other extreme the special-function board may be independent. The complexity and unwieldy nature of county government is certainly not improved by the proliferation of special-function boards and commissions, of which some counties now have as many as eight or ten.

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[10] Anderson and Weidner, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477.

The most recent special-function boards deal with airports, local planning and construction and maintenance of parks. Boards involving agriculture, assessment, election administration, finance, health, highways, hospitals, libraries, penal administration, personnel, recreation, schools, and welfare are also common. The proliferation of these special-function boards often proceeds to the extent that several separate units may be involved in administering one function. The existence of two boards administering welfare in a county is not uncommon. One administers the categorical aid program for the blind, aged and dependent children under the United States Social Security Act and one supervises the county's institutions.

Special districts. In addition to special-function boards and commissions over which the governing bodies of the minor civil divisions exercise at least some control, the states have created many special or *ad hoc* districts for special purposes over which the local units may have no control. The most common unit of this type is the school district, but such units also exist for water control, irrigation, roads and bridges, urban improvements, urban utilities, public housing, soil conservation, port development and other purposes. Figure 29 indicates the distribution of special districts, including special-function and *ad hoc* units. The soil conservation district, for instance is a new type of governmental unit—a social system of considerable importance in all states.

The ends, objectives and norms of local government. Some of the objectives of local government have been suggested in the foregoing paragraphs. The institutionalizing of force and power is represented in the local governmental picture by the various law-enforcing branches of government. Other than this major objective, the local units concern themselves mostly with education, highways, public health, and welfare. Even when the job, by anyone's standards, is poorly done, work along these

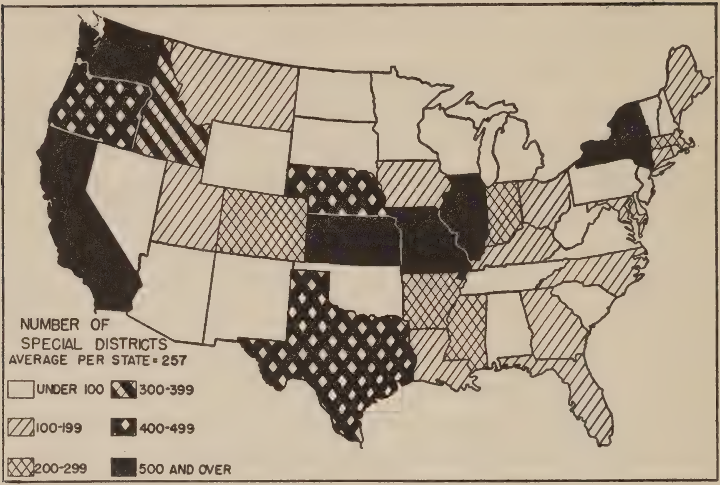

Figure 29. Number of Special Districts in Each State, 1952. Special districts include many varieties of single function units of government. However, over half is accounted for by fire districts (18 per cent), drainage districts (18 per cent), and soil conservation districts (16 per cent). The total number of special districts in 1952 was 12,319. (Source: Bureau of the Census, *Governments in the United States in 1952*, Table 11.)

lines continues after a fashion; these activities, or the recognition of need for their performance, is the ideal objective of local government.

In an activity so all-embracing as government, it is inevitable that individuals and sub-systems have their own objectives which they hope can be accomplished through the local governmental process. A drainage bill and appropriation might benefit many, but it may never have been initiated except for the somewhat selfish need for land drainage on the part of a few. Highways and roads certainly benefit all—even those who don't travel them. The maximum benefit from any one bit of road repair might accrue to the person near whose property the road lies. What is suggested here is that abstract "general welfare" is very difficult to embody in laws and that as long as a government needs individuals to set its direction, that direction will bear the marks of the individual's concept of "good."[11] "One man's meat is another man's poison," an adage at least as old as Aesop, is the operating principle. The politician tries to see that what he serves is regarded by most as somewhat palatable, even though the dish is chiefly concocted according to his own taste. By and large, as long as the officials carry on the work of the government without violating openly the norms of their constituency, and as long as a number of people other than the officials benefit from the government's activity, the governmental body is within the area of acceptance of the populace.

Accounts are replete with the misfeasance, malfeasance and nonfeasance of office. Lancaster, for example, suggests that county government is largely in the hands of the "court house gang,"[12] a clique which monopolizes the control in its own interest with little regard for the general welfare, let alone the universal principles by which this might be furthered. He notes that the process of getting re-elected, if there is competition, often requires that the office holder use his position not only to "feather his own nest" but to feather the nests of those he wishes to vote for him. What must be remembered is that the very lack of concern on the part of the citizenry shows that the office holder is not violating a principle held in great esteem by the populace. The office holder may not be the most efficient, he may cater only to his own selfish interests, but he must be sufficiently responsive to get re-elected, and that, as McCamy pointed out, is virtually the number one political virtue. No system of written legalized norms can supersede those grounded in the mores of everyday living.

> It is fitting and proper for the community to expect higher standards among its public servants than in private life. But in the end administrative morality will reflect the morality of the community

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[11] See David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951) for a fuller discussion.

[12] Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1937), p. 78.

> it serves. A society . . . in which the clever man who can make a "fast buck" is eulogized, and in which private speculation is often concealed in acts of so-called public policy, ought not to be surprised if an occasional bureaucrat strays from the straight and narrow path.[13]

The formal expression of norms is to be found in the ponderous compendia of election laws, in the "watch-dog" role of the political parties, and in the many non-official but formally organized groups such as municipal leagues, civic groups, and the League of Women Voters.

> From inability to control our complex of governments by the ballot box, we Americans have attempted to control government by means of parties and have then found it necessary to attempt control of the complex party mechanisms. Failing there, we have attempted to control by concerted shouting at them through the organized alertness of civic associations![14]

"In a country where the 'politician' is a symbol of corruption and dishonesty, if not dishonor, where a large majority of parents, as reported by the Gallup poll, prefer *not* to have their children enter the public service, where the bureaucracy is regarded as a legitimate object of ridicule and even revulsion and the term 'bureaucrat' is a nasty name,"[15] who becomes the county official, what is his social rank?

Social rank of members of governing bodies. The members of county governing bodies are predominantly farmers, with a few businessmen and retired persons. A distinct difference between the governing bodies of counties and those of city councils or state legislatures is the virtually complete absence of lawyers on the former. Professional persons, such as physicians and dentists, are also much less frequently represented on county governing bodies. The governing boards of counties are drawn heavily from the older age groups. Not more than 10 to 12 per cent are under forty-five years of age. About half of them have more than an eighth grade education and not more than 20 percent have ever attended colleges.[16]

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[13] *Report of Sub-Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Ethical Standards in Government,* U.S. Senate, 82nd Congress, 1st session, p. 10.

[14] Richard S. Childs, "Citizen Organization for Control of Government," *The Annals,* Vol. 292 (March, 1954), pp. 134-135.

[15] Peter H. Odegard, "Toward a Responsible Bureaucracy," *The Annals,* Vol. 292 (March, 1954), p. 29.

In some states, members of the county governing body hold key positions in their political parties and in some cases are supported by their own political machines. In other states, however, members of governing bodies take little or no part in political party activities. Through their power to grant or withhold favors of various kinds, the members of the county board exercise considerable influence over all county offices. In rural America, persons of high social rank are seldom represented on the county governing boards. Persons of high rank often rely upon informal means and pressures, including control of capital resources and credit, to influence the county boards on which persons of lower rank usually sit. In crisis situations or in areas where it is believed that the culture of the group in control may be threatened, representatives from "higher" community ranks are often elected to the governing boards. In a study of how rural communities obtained hospitals, an operation of considerable community importance, Miller[17] found that local government officials played less significant roles than self-employed businessmen, professional workers, employed managers, and farm owners and operators. Interestingly, the only regions which favored the civil government as sponsoring agents for the development of a hospital were the Southeast and the Southwest, areas in which it is claimed that governmental officials have relatively high rank, in part because of the race problem. Miller's important study of social action in rural areas is a clear demonstration of how persons of high social rank in communities use the office holder of lower rank to obtain desired action or to prevent action not desired.

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[16] Anderson and Weidner, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-462.

[17] Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action—A Study of Community Contrast* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), pp. 22 and 46.

TABLE 14

ELECTIVE COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES IN ADDITION TO THE ELECTED EXECUTIVE, 1946

Office	*Number of states in which found*
Assessor	28
Attorney or solicitor	36
Auditor or comptroller	16
County clerk	25
Clerk of court	33
Collector or commissioner of taxes	8
Coroner	30
Public administrator	5
Recorder	12
Registrar of deeds	13
Registrar of probate	3
Registrar of wills	3
Sheriff	47
Superintendent of schools	26
Surveyor or engineer	31
Treasurer	37
Constable (as a county office)	27

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Elective Offices of State and County Governments* (1946), Table 2.

TABLE 15

SUPERVISORS' CONCEPTION OF THEIR MAIN DUTIES AS REVEALED BY A PROBING STUDY OF SEVENTY-FOUR TOWNSHIP SUPERVISORS IN MICHIGAN, 1952

Category	*Number of Times Mentioned*[1]
Assessment of property	47
Road and bridge maintenance	24
Taxation problems	25[2]
County and township committees	19
Health and welfare	12
Represent community wherever necessary	11
Drainage problems	7
Public school affairs	4
Attend to county business	4
Zoning	3
Building and construction	3
Listen to complaints	2
Keep people satisfied	2
No main duties	10

SOURCE: Edward W. Weidner and Jack Preiss, "Rural Local Government and Politics and Adult Education," in C. P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 277.

[1] Respondents were free to name as many categories as they wished.

[2] Five supervisors believed their job was to keep taxes down.

Status-roles and power. Table 14 shows the elective county administrative offices in the United States. In general, these status-roles lack functional specificity. Although most county governing boards have devised formal and informal means of providing some central leadership, in general the county is left headless in the sense that authority is not centralized at one point.

In Michigan, Preiss asked seventy-four township supervisors, members of the governing bodies of their counties, what they considered to be their main duties. Table 15 indicates how little consensus these local officials have of their status-roles and how functionally-diffuse their status-roles really are. The difficulty rural governmental officials would have adhering to universalistic principles is revealed by Table 16 which presents the results of how township officials say they maintain contact with their constituents. Many said they let their constituents "come to them."

TABLE 16

WAYS IN WHICH SUPERVISORS CONTACT CONSTITUENTS, SEVENTY-FOUR MICHIGAN TOWNSHIP SUPERVISORS, 1952

Category	*Frequency of Mention*
Personal contact and visiting in general	42
Visiting at assessment time (once a year)	26
Public meetings	22
People come with problems	15
Farm organization meetings	9
Through the township board	7
Telephone	9
Lodge or civic organization meetings	4
Regard meetings as generally ineffective	8
Used own judgment primarily	4
Few contacts with constituents	3

SOURCE: Edward W. Weidner and Jack Preiss, "Rural Local Government and Politics and Adult Education," in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 289.

In general, election to local governmental office is less dependent upon technical competence than knowing the right people. One writer described an effective local politician as follows: "He moved among the country people with the energy of a Henry Clay, smiling confidently, speaking to everybody, pausing frequently for a more intimate word."[18] Informants were questioned for an explanation of this man's success and the following summary was written: "It's because he has something to offer them and that's the only reason. . . . There's a Post Office in every hollow in this county and he's got all of these. . . . W.P.A. came along, about every other family was on relief and dependent on Little. You just can't beat a set-up like that."[19]

These examples stress the functionally-diffuse, particularistic, and affective nature of role performance and power in rural government and politics. Universalistic norms and procedures such as *Robert's Rules of Order* in decision-making, and civil service rules and regulations for employing and discharging functionaries, are uncommon. Responsibilities of incumbents in office, far from being functionally specific with respect to duties, frequently require that friends, relatives, and powerful persons in the voting precinct be served. It is no doubt such functional diffuseness that has caused county manager government, or a unified county executive, to have been advocated by political scientists for several decades. Although the recommendation falls far short of general acceptance, nevertheless there were about 200 units of government in rural areas employing managers in 1949. Although most of these units are in the New England towns, Petroleum County, Montana, a county with about 1,200 population is a rural county with the managerial form of government.[20]

Some of the disadvantages in the headlessness of local governing bodies have been overcome in other ways. In some states, chairmen of governing bodies, such as probate judges, exercise managerial powers. In other counties, auditors have been appointed to exercise such functions. In Indiana and Minnesota the county auditor, and in Illinois the clerk, have considerable power and in some respects resemble county executives. According to Anderson and Weidner, "in a majority of the states and in a substantial number of counties (about 50 per cent in Wisconsin, for example), there is a tendency to make an appointive or elective administrative official, or the chairman of the governing body, at least a limited county executive."[21] Other means of improving local government require the introduction of the merit system, modernization of purchasing methods, and the consolidating of departments.

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[18] J. B. Harrison, "Anse Little: Successful Politician in Bloody Beaumont County, Kentucky," (unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University).

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Anderson and Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

Sanctions. In the functioning of governmental systems, both rewards and penalties are important. "Through their power to grant or withhold favors of one kind or another, the members of the county board exercise a considerable influence over all county offices. . . . At the very least the county governing body is a group that every county officer, whether directly elected or not, has to reckon with."[22] An account of how one local politician used penalties to achieve his ends is given by a local school teacher who refused to "kowtow." She reported: "Elias Johnson came around and told me I would have to contribute twenty-five dollars to Little's campaign fund. I told him I wouldn't be beholden to anybody, so I quit and went to work in a war plant in Louisville. My aunt, though, said she had a family to raise, so she chipped in and is still teaching."[23] This incident illustrates the absence or failure to enforce such universalistic institutions as civil service regulations for employment and promotion. However, such conditions are less common in the United States than in more Gemeinschaft-like societies in Latin America where particularism is much more important for professionals.

Facilities. The county courthouse and other facilities of local governmental systems are often very poorly maintained and in contrast with local schools, churches, and business establishments appear dingy and untidy. Usually public facilities controlled by technicians and professionals such as hospitals, libraries, and highways are better maintained than the rural courthouse. Seldom are all the offices of the governing bodies and special function groups in the same buildings. Often officials of different agencies which deal with the same people daily do not know one another and have little occasion to discuss common problems, partially because they are often housed in widely separated places.

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 482.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 467.
[23] Harrison, *op. cit.*

Territoriality. As counties range in area, population and taxable wealth, they also range tremendously in their ability to supply essential services effectively.

> Many communities simply cannot afford to provide a level of social services at all commensurate with the ideal of equality of opportunity. In spite of the fact that the poorer states and localities generally make a greater effort—in terms of their taxable resources—to raise revenue than do the richer units, they are not able to maintain satisfactory service standards.[24]

Independent studies in Minnesota, Texas, and California,[25] conclude that high per capita costs and low levels of services prevail in counties below the 30,000 to 50,000 population level. Fixed costs of the smallest government unit contribute to the relatively high costs of the small counties. Table 17 shows that

TABLE 17

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTIES, BY SIZE OF POPULATION

Size of Population	*Number of Counties*
Under 5,000	236
5,000—10,000	466
10,000—25,000	1,255
25,000—50,000	699
50,000—100,000	253
100,000—250,000	114
Over 250,000	57
TOTAL	3,050

SOURCE: Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1948), p. 440.

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[24] Alvin H. Hansen and Harvey S. Perloff, *State and Local Finance in the National Economy* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1944), p. 15.

[25] "The Reorganization of Local Government in Minnesota," *Minnesota Municipalities,* Vol. 18 (February, 1933), p. 102; H. C. Bradshaw and L. P. Gabbard, "Possible Savings through Changes in Local Government," (College Station: Texas AES Bulletin 540; April, 1937), p. 37; and Charles Aiken, "California—Proposed County Consolidation," *National Municipal Review,* Vol. 23 (June, 1934), p. 327.

most of the counties of the United States are under 30,000 in population. Although county reorganization and consolidation have been persistently recommended for decades, only two such consolidations have taken place. According to Hansen and Perloff:

> The forces which stand in the way of the rationalization of local units of government are formidable. They include (*a*) local loyalties, which induce people to resist the dissolution of local governmental units regarded as their own; (*b*) tradition, or the tendency to think of arrangements made in the past as having an inherent rightness and permanence; (*c*) desire of local office holders to hold onto their jobs; (*d*) resistance of individuals and businesses to reorganization which might increase their tax bills; (*e*) resistance of businesses that are getting special favors from existing local governments; (*f*) resistance of local units that stand to lose some of their taxable resources; (*g*) urban-rural antagonisms especially where it is felt that a change might involve additional burdens or a loss of power.[26]

Such are the forces which have thus far maintained the status-quo of territoriality in county government. It is interesting to relate them to the concepts and the social factors treated in this chapter. Items *a* and *b* are Gemeinschaft-like, particularistic, and affective. Furthermore, they reflect sentiments held not only by special interest groups, but by large segments of the population, as does item *f*. Item *c* is an example of self-motivated interests on the part of the "politician" and the "bureaucrat," while *d* illustrates the same motive on the part of non-officials. Item *e* could well include those whose "nests were feathered" by the ingratiating politician. Item *g* probably reflects in part the strain where a Gemeinschaft-like way of life is yielding gradually to the more Gesellschaft-like behavior. All in all, the items provide a good example of the manner in which diverse and often opposing interests converge; they illustrate how the office holder can be selfish and corrupt, but nevertheless chooses a line of action harmonious with the will of the constituents; and how the democratic ideal of self-government can be valued beyond considerations of efficiency. The persistence of the county reorganization movement as well as the resistance of the population the country over are evidence of the tremendous importance of territoriality in the governmental social system. This resistance represents one of the best examples of boundary maintenance known to the authors.

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[26] Hansen and Perloff, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Particularistic versus universalistic government: Mexico and the United States. If we place the governments of Mexico and the United States on a continuum with the Gesellschaft-like type at one pole and the Gemeinschaft-like type at the other pole, Mexico would fall toward the *Gemeinschaft* pole, the United States toward the *Gesellschaft* pole. The social relationships involved in rural government of both countries would fall nearer the *Gemeinschaft* pole than the relationships which are chiefly involved at the national level.

Campbell and associates[27] studied the "sense of political efficacy," that is, the feeling that individual political action does or can have, an impact upon political process, and "sense of citizen duty" in the United States, through a scientific national sample and the use of Guttman scaling devices. In general, these measures were highly correlated with education and income, and with farm operators having lower scores. That is, these groups felt that they and others had little personal political influence and had little sense of citizen duty. Farm operators and unskilled workers were at the lower end of the scale in this respect, followed in sequence by skilled and semiskilled workers, other white collar employees, and professional and managerial workers. In both cases the South, the most rural section of the country, ranked at the bottom. This study demonstrated that "the more strongly a person feels a sense of obligation to discharge his civic duties, the more likely he is to be politically active."[28] It was also demonstrated that members of friendship groups and families tended to have the same political preferences.

No similar study has been made of Mexico but it is well known that governmental relations on all levels are much more personal than in the United States and that bribery, graft, and extortion are much more common.[29] An insightful description of Mexican government is that of Tannenbaum, who summarizes the present situation as follows: "The executive must be strong in Mexico, or Mexico will face revolution. The alternative to a strong president is rebellion. The alternative to political decisions made in detail and enforced by the president is decisions which no one can enforce. The fact of the matter is that the president must decide because no one else's decision will be accepted. The older tradition that the king rules has survived in modern dress: the president rules. He rules rather than governs, and must do so if he is to survive. . . ."[30] The president makes sure that his friends and his friends only control the Senate which decides who is the "rightfully" elected governor. This is necessary because there is frequently more than one claimant. "The president controls the election of the members to the Congress and the Senate. No one can be elected to either without his consent and approval."[31] National elections for a future president are always controlled by the president in office. "The candidate who has official approval is certain of election . . . the election itself is never in doubt." Opposition members know "their people will probably not be permitted to vote; that if they do vote their vote will not be counted; that, if counted, and sent into the final test in the national Congress, it will be disregarded; and finally, that if elected by some strange accident, they could not govern."[32] An election for the "ins" provides the opportunity for candidates to travel, renew friendships, and build fences. For the "outs" it is a rehearsal and preparation for revolution.

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[27] Angus Campbell, *et al., The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), pp. 187 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

"Watching Mexican politics closely, one begins to discern the drift of the new alignment by noting changes in the cabinet, and asking: Whose friends are they?"[33] The same holds for Congress and the manner in which the president shifts the generals of the army which is a final source of power. "Like a good father, the president cannot say no, and if he does, the no is not final. Surely the father's heart can be mellowed, his kindness reawakened, his true virtues as the father of his children brought to bear upon the issues in hand."[34] If this proves impossible, "It becomes essential to drive him from office. There is no alternative between personal government and revolution. Inefficiency, corruption, cruelty—if personal—are all acceptable. What is not acceptable is the cold, impersonal, efficient government."[35]

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[29] Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 545 ff.

[30] Frank Tannenbaum, "The United States and Mexico," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (October, 1948), pp. 44-57.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

Although political behavior as manifest in elections in both the United States and Mexico tends to be less Gesellschaft-like than economic behavior such as one finds in the operation of banks, it is less Gemeinschaft-like in the United States than in Mexico. The status-role of the Mexican official, whether local or national, makes relationships more affectual and is governed more by particularistic norms and ascription. Responsibilities are more functionally diffuse than in the United States. The two societies are more alike on the rural level and in the lower social class levels.

PROCESSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The processes of social change are well illustrated by a case report of Albemarle County, Virginia in which the county government was reorganized. The italicized portions have been included to point out the elements and processes of social systems:

WE THE CITIZENS[36]

In Albemarle County, Virginia, ten years ago, a new form of county government was inaugurated. [*Obviously, social-cultural linkage has already been established.*] Like all new ideas, the plan had met with strong and, in some cases, bitter opposition. During the first nine months of operation under the new plan, a reduction of 30 per cent in the cost of general county administration was effected. At the same time, the records showed that the tax collection letters sent out during this period under the new plan had been 25 per cent more effective in collecting delinquent taxes than the treasurers' deputies during a similar period under the old regime. At the end of the first year, savings were such that the new administration was able to reduce the general levy 16 2/3 per cent. Even with this reduction, at the end of ten years the county showed an increase of over 300 per cent in the general fund surplus. To people to whom dollars talk more effectively than ideas, the new form of local government had proved itself beyond question. [*Here the writers stress ends and goals commonly associated with the* Gesellschaft.]

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Jean and Jesse Ogden, *Small Communities in Action* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946), pp. 115-122.

To others, there was even more significant evidence that the change was good. Governmental services had been in no way curtailed to bring about this saving. Moreover, there was apparent to the most casual observer a great improvement in administrative procedures. [*These imply a shifting to universalistic from particularistic norms.*] To those deeply concerned in the county's welfare, it was obvious that either of two courses could be chosen: the taxpayers might save rather large sums in greatly decreased taxation or they might receive vastly improved services in such fields as health, welfare, law enforcement and education at somewhat less cost to them than they had borne for years under the old plan. Albemarle County chose the latter. This choice was made in spite of the fact that the reform had started as a tax reduction movement. Obviously citizens are willing to spend money when they get real values in return.

The county still continues to collect and disburse large sums of money. The people still pay taxes and fees. The latter, however, are now a part of the revenue of the county rather than remuneration for sometimes nonessential services rendered by frequently superfluous officials. By far the largest portion of the entire income goes back to the taxpayers in the form of services. Officials are adequately paid but their duties and relationships have been so reorganized as to make for the greatest economy and efficiency.

A look at costs of the finance department alone shows the kind of saving made possible by the reorganization. During the last three years under the old form (1930-1933) the net cost of this department averaged $21,395.21 a year. During the first three years of the new, the net cost averaged $8,431.38 a year. These figures include all operating costs borne by the county—postage, stationery, office equipment, and supplies as well as salaries. The last item even covers the cost of the new office created by the change—the county executive who, in Albemarle, is also director of finance. The records show that by the savings in finance alone an average of $12,963.83 has been made available for services.

Ten years of steady progress under the county executive form of government has justified the ardent campaigning of a few far-seeing citizens to make it a reality. [*Although social-cultural linkage is achieved, members of the change agent system believe it must remain on the alert to maintain this linkage.*]

To say exactly by whom or at what moment it all started is now impossible. Its history, however, from a meeting in early January, 1933, can be traced with ease and accuracy. A few citizens of the county were concerned about pending state legislation. They decided to get together to try to lay down some principles on the basis of which they might select their candidates for the state legislature in the next election. Little seems to have been accomplished at the first meeting beyond a decision to continue to meet and to invite speakers in to help in the deliberations. The speaker chosen for the second meeting was Dr. George W. Spicer, professor of political science at the University of Virginia. Dr. Spicer had been a member of the Commission on County Government which had drafted the Optional Forms Act adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1932. [*Obviously Dr. Spicer, an expert in the action resulting in social-cultural linkage, was a resource used by the change agent system in accomplishing objectives. How much he became a part of this system is not indicated.*] This act made it possible for a majority of the qualified voters in any county to decide to replace their present form of government by either the executive or the manager form.

With years of study which had shown him how wasteful and out-of-date county government in Virginia had become and with the drafting of the Optional Forms Act fresh in his mind, it was inevitable that the speaker should suggest to the citizens that they begin by putting their own house in order before trying to make over the state. Tax relief was admittedly their primary concern. He pointed out that the "most immediate and most promising opportunity for substantial relief from the present county tax burden lies in the adoption of one of the optional forms of county government by the voters of the county." He briefly explained the two forms, adding that he felt the manager plan was better adapted to thickly settled urbanized areas and the executive plan to the more strictly rural counties such as Albemarle.

The idea struck a spark. The meeting decided to organize itself into a Citizens' League. [*The change agent.*] A capable and publicspirited member of the Board of Supervisors was elected chairman. [*Note how from the very first a partial social-cultural linkage was achieved in that one member was both a member of the county governing body, the target system, and the change agent system.*] A working committee of twenty persons from all sections of the county was appointed. An executive committee of five was named to make plans for a campaign for the county executive form.

Those most active in the Citizens' League might all have been designated as "leading citizens." They were men of property naturally concerned with a businesslike administration of the county. This concern they had in common. In occupation and general background the group was varied. It included farmers, orchardists, dairymen, businessmen, manufacturers, public officials, and college professors. [*There is no question about the high social rank of the change agent system.*] It was self-appointed but it acted on the belief that no one has a better right to appoint a committee for such a purpose than a group of alert citizens. They were ready to assume the responsibilities as well as to enjoy the privileges of citizenship in a democracy.

The educational campaign got under way immediately. [*Obviously this is part of the strategy.*] The plan was to tell as many citizens as possible about the proposed change and to give them ample opportunity to ask questions. Meetings were called in school buildings in every section of the county. The county executive form was explained briefly. This part of the meeting lasted from thirty to forty minutes. There followed as long a question and discussion period as anyone desired. At first, audiences were amazed at this new kind of political meeting. They were accustomed to being exhorted and harangued by speakers who frequently veiled their real meaning in soft clouds of wordy oratory. In the new type of meeting there was no attempt to spellbind. The desire for questions and discussion was so sincere that the period sometimes lasted for almost two hours. If anyone left a meeting with any questions still unanswered, it was because he had not bothered to ask.

Because of his ready familiarity with the Optional Forms Act, Dr. Spicer was the speaker at most of these meetings. He also served as consultant throughout the campaign. Others in the Citizens' League took an active part in the discussions, answering questions or even occasionally asking one if some point seemed to them to have been left in obscurity. Members of the league took time to familiarize themselves with all the implications of the plan so they could answer questions and arguments outside the meetings as well as in. One farmer sat for hours on Dr. Spicer's porch asking for instruction until he was sure he was letter-perfect. He is said to have been one of the most effective workers in the educational campaign. At the close of each meeting a petition for a referendum on the county executive form was offered for signatures. There was no difficulty in getting more than the 10 per cent necessary for the holding of an election. But a majority of the voters had to be convinced in order to carry the election.

Although meetings were held in every section of the county, frequently they were very small. Other ways of telling the story had to be thought of. Conversation with friends and neighbors was one of the best. [*Note that in the process of communication informal channels were more important.*] In addition, the league printed a four-page leaflet with a brief foreword by Chairman C. Purcell McCue and a simple explanation of the old form of local government contrasted with the proposed executive plan. A chart showing the relation of the voters to the officials under each plan helped the graphic-minded reader. [*Note how mass media are linked to informal channels of communication.*] In addition to the explanation of the changes in form, such important considerations as the following were stated:

> The difficulty is that under the present overelaborate system of county government substantial relief cannot be given the taxpayer without seriously crippling important social services such as public welfare, health, and education. . . . The unhampered performance of these services is even more vital in a period such as the present than in the days of prosperity; and it should not be necessary to cripple them in order to maintain an antiquated and wasteful county organization. . . .
>
> The real issue before the voters of the county is whether local self-government shall be rescued for the county by the adoption of a responsible, economical and efficient system of government or whether it shall be entirely lost through the process of further state centralization.

This leaflet was distributed by workers in every way possible. The important thing was to get it into the hands of people who would be voting in the election which by this time had been set for the 2nd day of May—four months after the organization of the Citizens' League. Getting the leaflets distributed was an easy task, workers now say. They were assisted by even the elements. On one occasion a gentle spring breeze lifted several from the window sill during a meeting and deposited them in the lap of a lady whose opposition was both strong and bitter.

Up to this point it may seem as if there had been no opposition. Such was not the case. It is true, however, that the matter had been approached in a spirit of open-minded inquiry by a group of unbiased citizens. Their decision then had been to inform other citizens of the county of what they felt they had discovered. They themselves had nothing at stake except their right as citizens to an efficient and economical setup. They were urging a new form of government and were not campaigning for or against certain officials. They told the people at times that "no vote would be, or should be, cast for or against any county officer, but for or against a new system of government designed to remove the weaknesses and defects of the present system." Thus, at first, personalities were kept out of the discussions. [*An attempt was made to use universalistic, not particularistic norms.*]

Inevitably it could not take long for the implications to become clear. The new form would abolish certain offices. The pleasant privileges of bestowing minor jobs on friends and relatives would be drastically curtailed. The lucrative fee system would be abolished so far as personal gain was concerned. Savings to the taxpayers would undoubtedly mean personal losses to a few individual officeholders, some of whom had served the county long and faithfully.

As these implications became clear, the opposition organized its counter-campaign. Then the cool objectivity of the educational approach became less cool and less objective. [*Action of an affective nature replaces affectively-neutral action.*] Personalities were involved. Accusations became heated, and replies were sometimes fraught with emotion. All the beloved and respected citizens were not on the same side. The people had to try to see issues rather than to follow their traditional leaders, for these were divided.

"You are offered a wild horse to ride," wrote the opposition, "and where you may be taken, no one knows. Kill this movement, men and women of Albemarle County, in its inception, by your ballot." [*A good example of effort at boundary maintenance. Obviously opponents to the movement were threatened as a system. Otherwise the organized effort would not have been manifest.*]

Cooperation of the local press aided the opponents of the plan. Their forces also held meetings and distributed leaflets. In their meetings, however, there was apparent more oratory and less eagerness for discussion than had been the case in the earlier meetings. Nevertheless, discussion was present, for many citizens had learned during the preceding months to ask searching questions.

On the day before election both sides held mass meetings in Charlottesville, the county seat. Now political strategists in each camp were at work. To discredit one's opponents and to prove one's strength by sheer force of numbers and noise were of utmost importance. The courtesy and friendly humor that had characterized the early schoolhouse meetings was no longer the order of the day. Education had indeed given place to exhortation and emotional appeal. But apparently the earlier program of the Citizens' League had had its effect. The results of the balloting showed an almost two to one victory for the county executive form. Members of the Citizens' League had reason to feel well repaid for their tireless expenditure of time and energy, and certainly they got their money's worth. The entire cost of the campaign was $86.54. Of the $145 contributed in small amounts by its friends, the league had on hand a balance of $58.46.

There remained the task of finding the county executive required by the new plan. The opposition had continually referred to him as "that wizard," or "that man of genius." [*Words used in symbol manipulation, so common in the strategy of change on the part of the opponents of the new system.*] He might be brought from Chicago, they pointed out, or any other place totally unfamiliar with the customs and folkways of Virginia. He was found actually in the office of the auditor and collector in Charlottesville—a native son of the county he was asked to serve. He is a modest man who makes not the slightest pretense to wizardry. But for ten years Mr. Henry Haden has filled the office of county executive most ably.

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10

Farmers' Organizations as Social Systems

LIKE MANY OTHER OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS THE farmers are not without their organizations. The degree to which farmers throughout the world have organized, as well as the complexity of their organizations, is variable. Farmers and peasants in many parts of the world are either without organizations or the existing organizations are ineffective agents of the farmer in either the political or the economic sense. In the United States, however, the farmers' organizations are structurally complex and play significant economic, political, and social roles in the lives of American farmers.

The present farmers' organizations in the United States have not appeared suddenly and full-blown. The major farmers' organizations of today represent the culmination of what is often referred to as the "farmers' movement." Over the years, this movement has been a series of attempts, often inept and sometimes violent, on the part of farmers to secure relief from what they consider to be maladjustments. Often these attempts have been crude organizational efforts to obtain a hearing before legislative bodies. In the following quotation, Taylor places the farmers' movement in America in proper perspective:

> So long as American agriculture was largely a self-sufficient family economic enterprise and was largely represented by home-owning farmers, there was little occasion for a farmers' movement beyond general farmer protests against the quit rents imposed by England in colonial days. Theoretically the self-sufficient farmer had no market or price problems. His sole task was to produce year after year the products for his own food, clothing, and shelter, while he went without those things that he could not produce and, so to speak, let the world go by. But American agriculture never was fully self-sufficient. . . . Indeed, certain areas in Maryland and Virginia, at the very outset of their settlement, were converted into commercialized agriculture, and interestingly enough the first farmers' revolt, as well as later ones, arose in highly commercialized agricultural areas.[1]

Thus, it would seem that the farmers' movement, in its beginning and to a certain extent today, represents an attempt on the part of farmers to adjust to a price and market regime.

In the brief space of this chapter, it is impossible to consider all the attempts of farmers to organize. The point should be made, however, that such attempts have been diverse, numerous, and often short-lived. It is necessary, therefore, to restrict much of the discussion to the larger representatives of farmers' organizations today, namely, the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, and farmers' cooperatives.

IMPORTANCE OF FARM ORGANIZATION SYSTEMS

At least three million different farm families are members of the Grange, Farm Bureau, Farmers' Union, and cooperatives,[2] not to mention numerous other farmers' organizations. Not only do these organizations represent farmers politically and economically, but they also furnish an arena for social activities and important experience for many farmers in organizational "know-how."

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[1] Carl C. Taylor, *et al., Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 510-511. For a definitive study of farmers' movements in America, see Carl C. Taylor, *The Farmers' Movement* (New York: American Book Company, 1953).

[2] C. P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education,* Chapter 4, "General Farmers' Organizations and Cooperatives" by Carl C. Taylor and Wayne C. Rohrer (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 81.

Farmers' organizations as social systems. The crucial importance of the farmers' organizations in the network of social relationships and channels of communication reaching rural people was revealed by a recent national study.[3] Leaders of most rural organizations in 263 sample counties of the United States were requested to answer the following question: "What other organizations do you work with, or through, in your educational work with adults?" This question was followed by the request: "Check as many as apply," and a list of twenty organizational categories plus an "others (specify)" category. How the principal systems or organizations in rural America work together to achieve their objectives is illustrated in Figure 30.

The leaders of organizations (other than farmers' organizations) most frequently mentioned "farm organizations." The non-farmers' organizations whose leaders mentioned "farmers' organizations" most frequently were the following: (1) The Cooperative Extension Service units and organizations, (2) Production and Marketing Administration, (3) Soil Conservation Service, (4) Farmers' Home Administration, (5) county supervisors, and (6) schools and libraries. The fact that farmers' organizations are mentioned more frequently than any other category as a channel through which organizations work in adult education programs demonstrates their importance for all change agents.

Functions of farm organizations. At least four functions of the farmers' organizations seem important to mention. Since the farmers' organizations grew up in response to the farmer's efforts to adjust to prices and related problems, one of the most important functions of these organizations has been and still is economic. The very earliest uprising on the part of farmers in the United States centered around the price of tobacco among the

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

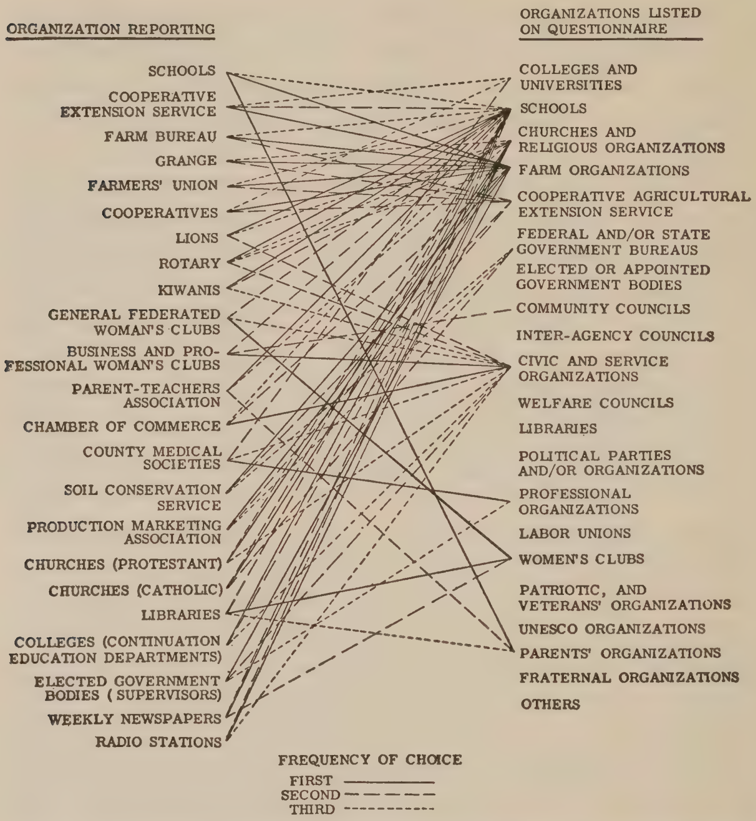
ORGANIZATION REPORTING
SCHOOLS
COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
FARM BUREAU
GRANGE
FARMERS' UNION
COOPERATIVES
LIONS
ROTARY
KIWANIS
GENERAL FEDERATED WOMAN'S CLUBS
BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMAN'S CLUBS
PARENT-TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETIES
SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE
PRODUCTION MARKETING ASSOCIATION
CHURCHES (PROTESTANT)
CHURCHES (CATHOLIC)
LIBRARIES
COLLEGES (CONTINUATION EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS)
ELECTED GOVERNMENT BODIES (SUPERVISORS)
WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS
RADIO STATIONS
ORGANIZATIONS LISTED ON QUESTIONNAIRE
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
SCHOOLS
CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
FARM ORGANIZATIONS
COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
FEDERAL AND/OR STATE GOVERNMENT BUREAUS
ELECTED OR APPOINTED GOVERNMENT BODIES
COMMUNITY COUNCILS
INTER-AGENCY COUNCILS
CIVIC AND SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS
WELFARE COUNCILS
LIBRARIES
POLITICAL PARTIES AND/OR ORGANIZATIONS
PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
LABOR UNIONS
WOMEN'S CLUBS
PATRIOTIC, AND VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS
UNESCO ORGANIZATIONS
PARENTS' ORGANIZATIONS
FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS
OTHERS
FREQUENCY OF CHOICE
FIRST
SECOND
THIRD

Figure 30. Ranking of Groups Through Which Specified Organizations Work in Their Adult Education Activities. (Source: C. P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education,* East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953, p. 323.)

Virginia planters. According to Taylor,[4] a tobacco monopoly was granted by King James I in 1620, but farmer protest was so great that the King withdrew the monopoly charter in the following year. Prices of tobacco were so low in the following two decades that farmers demanded price-fixing. In fact, so many tobacco planters were so deeply in debt that the Virginia Assembly declared that debts might be cancelled upon the payment of 40 per cent in terms of tobacco.

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[4] Taylor, *et al., op. cit.,* p. 511.

The first of the large farmers' organizations, the Grange, was organized shortly after the Civil War and reached its peak in membership when prices were relatively low. Relatively low farm prices also were associated with the rapid growth of the Farmers' Alliance in the latter part of the 1800's. Similarly, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, organized in Texas in 1902, and the American Society of Equity, organized in Indiana that same year, experienced their greatest growth in periods of low prices. Even the Farm Bureau and many of the cooperatives made their most significant advances when prices were low during the last great depression.[5]

Today, the economic function is strong in all four major farmers' organizations. For the farmers' cooperatives, of course, marketing and purchasing functions are primary. The same functions appear in the Grange, Farmers' Union, and Farm Bureau.

In addition to the economic function, these organizations constitute powerful pressure groups. In fact, the economic and political functions may be difficult to separate, for political activity often is solely economic in purpose. Throughout the history of the farmers' movement in this country political activity is in evidence. Unlike many of the European countries, however, no farmer or peasant party has persisted for a long period of time in this country.

The Nonpartisan League movement grew up in North Dakota and spread to surrounding states. This movement swept farmers into legislatures and took over banks, elevators, and warehouses as instruments of the state government. Due in part to insufficient political experience, however, the entry of the Nonpartisan League into politics was short-lived.[6] According to Taylor[7] the Grange, Agricultural Wheel, and Farmers' Alliance made themselves felt at both state and national levels. Since 1900 the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Nonpartisan League, and the Farm-Labor Party have given the farmer a hearing, sometimes even at the national level.

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[5] See C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 627-628.

[6] Charles E. Russell, *The Story of the Nonpartisan League* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), pp. 280 ff.

[7] Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), Chapters 27 and 28.

The social and educational functions of these organizations are most readily observed in units at the local level. The local units of the Grange, Farm Bureau, and Farmers' Union provide a meeting ground for informal visiting, discussion, and entertainment on the part of the members. In addition to the informal interaction provided at local meetings, programs of an educational nature are often featured.

According to the findings of a study of adult education in rural areas[8] 87 per cent of the general farmers' organizations reporting indicated that they were conducting programs and activities of an adult educational nature. A few random examples of educational programs reported in this study are the following: A Farm Bureau discussion group in Ohio considered the cost and administration of local welfare. A midwestern cooperative discussion group outlined the pros and cons of the UN, Point Four, and the Marshall Plan. A Subordinate Grange discussed the problem and decided to make a roadside park from a public dumping ground. The Arkansas Farmers' Union, the membership of which is 25 per cent Negro, has practiced democracy in local discussion groups and at state conventions.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

The Grange. The Grange, or technically, the Patrons of Husbandry, was organized in 1867 through the efforts of Oliver Hudson Kelley. The Grange grew rapidly in the next few years and attained a membership estimated at 850,000 in 1875. After

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[8] Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5 "Adult Educational Programs or Activities of the General Farmers' Organizations and Cooperatives" by Wayne C. Rohrer and Carl C. Taylor, p. 100.

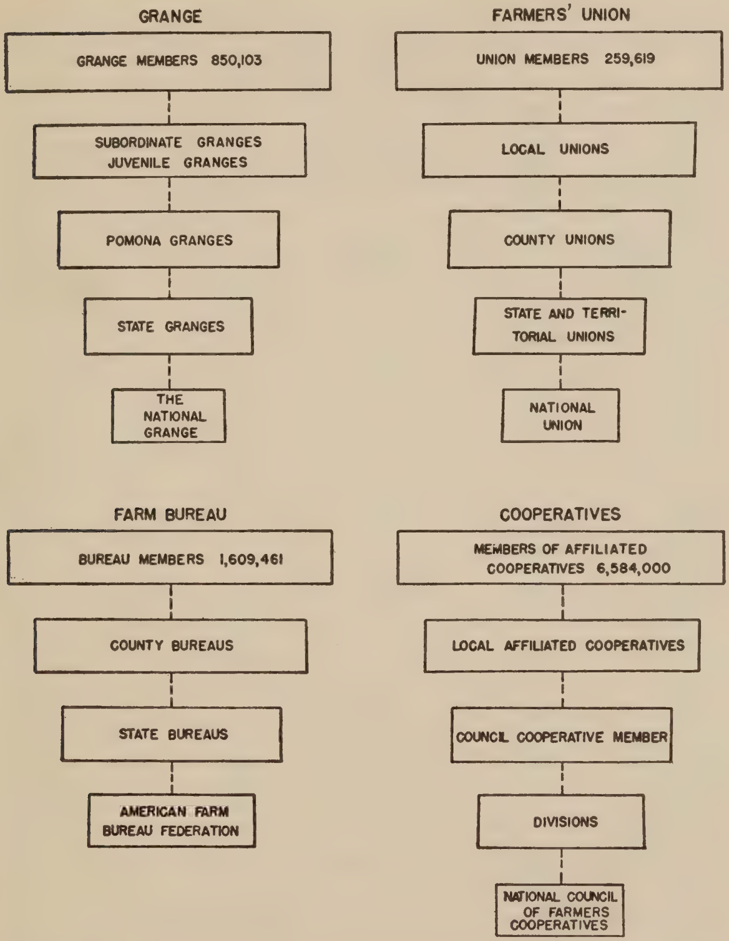
GRANGE
GRANGE MEMBERS 850,103
SUBORDINATE GRANGES
JUVENILE GRANGES
POMONA GRANGES
STATE GRANGES
THE NATIONAL GRANGE
FARMERS' UNION
UNION MEMBERS 259,619
LOCAL UNIONS
COUNTY UNIONS
STATE AND TERRITORIAL UNIONS
NATIONAL UNION
FARM BUREAU
BUREAU MEMBERS 1,609,461
COUNTY BUREAUS
STATE BUREAUS
AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION
COOPERATIVES
MEMBERS OF AFFILIATED COOPERATIVES 6,584,000
LOCAL AFFILIATED COOPERATIVES
COUNCIL COOPERATIVE MEMBER
DIVISIONS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMERS COOPERATIVES

Figure 31. Organizational Charts for the Grange, Farmers' Union, Farm Bureau, and Cooperatives. (Source: Carl C. Taylor and Wayne C. Rohrer in C. P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education*, East Lansing: The Michigan State University Press, 1953, p. 85, and personal correspondence with officials of the farm organizations.)

1880 Grange membership declined, but in recent years it has again become as large or larger than in 1875.

The Grange, the first of the large general farmers' organizations, is ritualistic. Membership consists of men, women, and children. Children up to the age of fourteen belong to the Juvenile Grange. The community unit, called the Subordinate Grange, may include all persons over fourteen. The Pomona Grange is the county or district unit, made up of the Subordinate bodies. In addition, there are the State Grange, made up of delegates from Subordinate Granges, and the National Grange, the delegates to which are composed of masters of State Granges and their wives. According to recent estimates by Taylor and Rohrer,[9] there are 7,700 Subordinate Granges, 1,764 Juvenile Granges, 745 Pomona, and thirty-seven State Granges in the United States. (See Figure 31.)

At its height in the 1870's the Grange entered commercial and manufacturing activities. Legislators and other political officials were elected from the organization. Haynes says: "The Granger movement began that radical but tedious revolution of American ideas which is slowly bringing industry under the political power of democracy!"[10] Although the Grange still engages in political activity, it is more restrained than formerly. The importance of social and educational activities, as well as certain cooperative activities, is being emphasized in the Grange today.

Grange membership is heavily concentrated in the Dairy Areas of the Northeast as shown in Table 18 and Figure 32. Outside of the New England and Middle Atlantic states, the main concentrations of Grange members are found in Ohio, California, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington. Few Grange members, it may be noted, are located in the Southern states.

The Farmers' Union. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America (the complete name of this organization) was founded in Texas in 1902.[11] Although precise membership

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[9] Loomis, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 85.

[10] Fred E. Haynes, *Social Politics in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 160.

[11] For a treatment of the early history of the Farmers' Union especially in the South, see Charles P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," and "Activities of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," *North Carolina Historical Review* (July and October, 1930), Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4.

TABLE 18

MEMBERSHIP IN THE GENERAL FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND COOPERATIVES, BY STATE

State	*Farm Bureau*[1] *(Family Unit Basis) 1954*	*Grange*[2] *(Subordinate; Individual Unit) 1954*	*Farmers' Union*[3] *(Family Unit Basis) 1954*	*Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Ass'ns.*[4] *(Estimated Membership) 1949-50*
TOTAL	1,609,461	850,103	259,619	6,584,000
Alabama	74,707	—	—	68,190
Arizona	3,591	—	*	42,850
Arkansas	55,881	961	14,060	26,160
California	59,363	45,185	—	119,150
Colorado	10,863	10,394	*	70,900
Connecticut	5,529	29,470	—	9,530
Delaware	758	2,184	—	9,000
Florida	15,856	—	—	13,900
Georgia	40,521	—	—	181,810
Idaho	14,069	11,808	*	68,870
Illinois	200,347	9,248	5,160	583,280
Indiana	116,688	5,824	5,046	323,220
Iowa	138,912	2,873	—	347,730
Kansas	67,305	19,151	10,026	123,510
Kentucky	72,775	—	—	223,770
Louisiana	16,838	—	—	8,630
Maine	769	61,127	—	9,400
Maryland	10,023	3,051	—	56,630
Massachusetts	4,481	46,505	—	105,880
Michigan	62,981	28,716	3,003	178,820
Minnesota	32,920	3,374	31,335	535,000
Mississippi	46,125	—	—	77,240
Missouri	49,198	2,680	—	325,000
Montana	2,972	1,644	14,405	53,480
Nebraska	16,588	1,831	16,100	210,500
Nevada	1,365	—	—	750
New Hampshire	5,136	30,983	—	4,260
New Jersey	7,910	19,801	—	33,990
New Mexico	8,116	—	*	8,550
New York	77,157	132,765	—	173,900
North Carolina	71,056	9,511	—	336,540
North Dakota	10,205	—	42,260	201,010
Ohio	48,917	170,215	—	319,600
Oklahoma	40,006	2,165	47,142	165,600
Oregon	7,036	28,778	2,450	88,660
Pennsylvania	3,460	78,504	—	119,350
Rhode Island	286	7,484	—	1,770

TABLE 18 (*Continued*)

State	*Farm Bureau*[1] *(Family Unit Basis)* *1954*	*Grange*[2] *(Subordinate; Individual Unit)* *1954*	*Farmers' Union*[3] *(Family Unit Basis)* *1954*	*Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Ass'ns.*[4] *(Estimated Membership)* *1949-50*
South Carolina	17,778	4,514	—	8,760
South Dakota	2,307	296	18,787	137,080
Tennessee	48,878	382	—	211,400
Texas	55,744	2,149	2,071	191,720
Utah	7,524	—	7,022	34,440
Vermont	8,267	18,577	—	13,420
Virginia	12,678	1,675	5,104	240,570
Washington	4,844	50,448	—	105,160
West Virginia	3,588	1,034	—	30,380
Wisconsin	34,506	2,975	10,091	370,650
Wyoming	7,533	1,279	*	12,290
District of Columbia	—	—	—	1,700
Puerto Rico	5,104	—	—	—
Scattering	—	542	8,039	—

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1952 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 597, and correspondence with official representatives of the Farm Bureau, Grange, and Farmers' Union.

[1] Farm Bureau memberships for 1954 from Roger Fleming, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

[2] Grange memberships for 1954 from Lloyd C. Halvorson, Economist, National Grange.

[3] Farmers' Union memberships for 1954 from Tony DeChant, National Secretary, National Farmers' Union.

[4] Includes independent local associations, federations, large-scale centralized associations, sales agencies, independent service-rendering associations and subsidiaries whose businesses are distinct from those of parent organizations.

* "Rocky Mountain" total given as 17,518.

figures are difficult to obtain, Taylor and Rohrer estimate that there are 185,000 dues-paying members and 462,670 registered members.[12] Families belong as units to the Union. Although the Farmers' Union was originally strong in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas and later in the South Atlantic states, its center of strength is now in the Wheat Areas of the Great Plains and in parts of the Range-Livestock Areas. North Dakota, Oklahoma, Nebraska, and South Dakota are the centers of the Farmers' Union's numerical strength. (See Table 18.)

The Farmers' Union is similar in structure to the Grange and

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[12] Loomis, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 85.

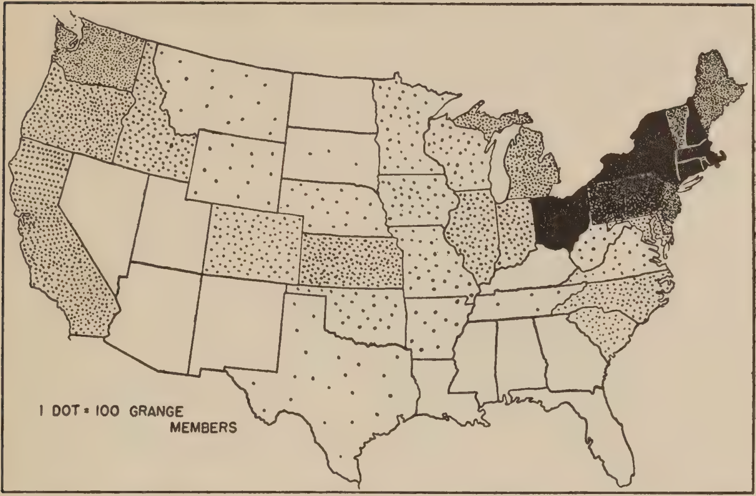

Figure 32. Distribution of Grange Members (Individual Unit Basis), 1954. (Source: Lloyd C. Halvorson, Economist, National Grange.)

is organized in local community unions, county unions, state and territorial unions, and a national union. According to Taylor and Rohrer[13] there are approximately 7,000 local unions, 400 county unions, and twenty state unions in the United States. (See Figure 31.) Among the objectives of the Farmers' Union, those of maintaining and protecting the family-type farm, of expanding local and regional farmers' cooperatives, and of educating farm families concerning the economic, social, and cultural problems of agriculture have been especially important. Unlike the Grange, the Farmers' Union has little ritual and no degrees.

The National Farmers' Union and the National Board of Farm Organizations helped to secure such legislation as rural free delivery, parcel post, and rural credit. The Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association in St. Paul is the largest grain-marketing association in the world, and the first cooperative hospital in the United States was the Farmers' Union Cooperative Hospital in Oklahoma.[14]

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[13] Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

The Farm Bureau. The American Farm Bureau Federation, in its earliest phases, was closely allied with the development of agricultural extension work in this country. Although county agents were first employed in the South as early as 1906, the first agent in the North was employed in Broome County, New York, in 1911. Two years later in this county farmers organized the first Farm Bureau Association in order to take a hand in the direction of county agent activities. Similar organizations were soon formed in other states, particularly in Illinois, Iowa, and West Virginia. In 1914 with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, which made available funds to support extension work on a large scale, the organizational basis of this work had already been established in a number of states.

According to the 1954 Report on Membership,[15] there were 1,609,461 family Farm Bureau memberships, making it the largest of the farmers' organizations. The major unit of the Farm Bureau is the county bureau, of which there are approximately 2,000. (See Figure 31.) Organizations of the Farm Bureau are to be found in at least forty-seven states. In addition, in certain states, there are Junior Farm Bureaus and the Associated Women of the Farm Bureau Federation, a national organization of farm women formed in 1935.

Membership in the Farm Bureau, in the various states, is shown in Table 18 and Figure 33. In terms of total family memberships, such states as Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, New York, and Ohio report largest memberships. Strong Farm Bureau states may also be found in many parts of the Cotton Belt.

The activities of the Farm Bureau differ from state to state. As indicated previously, in some states the Bureau has been

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[14] For more complete discussion, see Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 633-635, and Dewitt C. Wing, "Trends in National Farm Organization," *Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1940, pp. 954-960.

[15] Personal correspondence with Roger Fleming, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

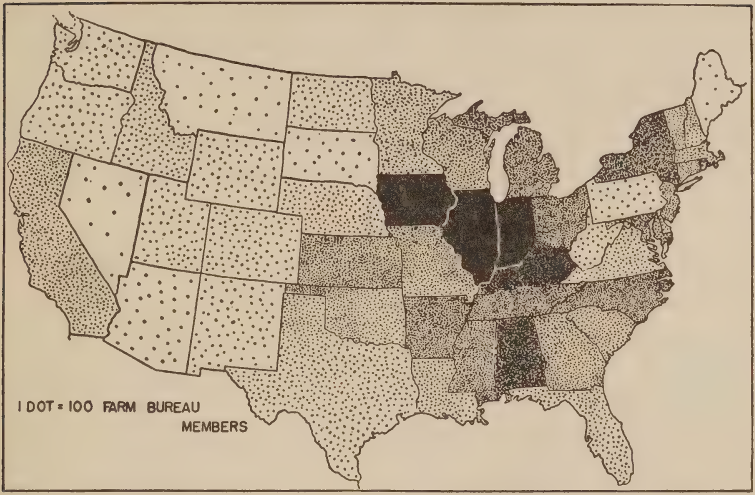

Figure 33. Distribution of Farm Bureau Members (Family Unit Basis), 1954. (Source: Roger Fleming, Secretary-Treasurer, American Farm Bureau Federation.)

closely allied with the Extension Service. Recent legislation has been passed to break up the alliance of these two organizations. According to Sanderson:

> The purposes and aims of the county farm bureau are broad and in many instances not too clearly defined. The American Farm Bureau Federation states its purpose to be "to promote, protect, and represent the business, economic, and social and educational interests of the farmers of the nation; and to develop agriculture," which in a general way covers the field of the county associations, although most of them are more immediately concerned with the educational program, whereas matters of larger agricultural policy are handled by their representatives in the state and national federations.[16]

Farmers' cooperatives. Taylor has sketched the rise of farmers' cooperatives in this country in terms of the growth of commodity marketing associations and regards their achievements as "the consistent long-time accomplishments of the farmers' movement."[17] According to the annual report of the Farm Credit Administration, there were 10,035 farmers' marketing and purchasing associations in 1949-1950 in the United States. The membership of these associations amounted to 6,584,000 and their estimated business was $8,726,000,000. Table 19 shows some of the details of the various commodity groups.

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[16] Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942), pp. 520-521.

TABLE 19

FARMERS' MARKETING AND PURCHASING ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR VARIOUS COMMODITIES, 1949-50

Commodity Group	*Associations Listed*	*Estimated Membership*[1]	*Estimated Business*[2]
TOTAL	10,035	6,584,000	8,726,000
Cotton and products	532	354,000	392,000
Dairy products	2,008	806,000	2,032,000
Fruit and vegetables	922	175,000	784,000
Grain, dry beans, rice	2,191	792,000	1,953,000
Livestock	580	939,000	1,291,000
Nuts	43	118,400	86,000
Poultry and eggs	131	142,000	290,600
Tobacco	22	502,700	115,800
Wool and mohair	107	98,000	27,000
Miscellaneous marketing	386	147,900	111,200
Purchasing	3,113	2,509,000	1,643,400

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1952* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 596. Data based upon reports received from association officers. Data covered independent local associations, federations, large-scale centralized associations, sales agencies, independent service-rendering associations, and subsidiaries whose businesses are distinct from those of parent organizations.

[1] Comprises members, contract members, and shareholders, but excludes patrons not in these categories.

[2] Includes value of commodities sold or purchased for patrons and charges for rendering other essential services in either marketing or purchasing. Most duplication in value arising from intra-association transactions has been eliminated.

According to Taylor and Rohrer,[18] local affiliated cooperatives in the United States number approximately 5,000. Slightly more than two and one-half million persons belong to those units that are affiliated with the National Council of Farmers' Cooperatives. (See Figure 31.)

Compared with that of many Scandinavian and Western European countries, the cooperative movement of the United

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[17] Taylor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

[18] Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

States is not strong. In terms of both number of associations and volume of business, Minnesota is the center of farmers' marketing and purchasing associations. Such associations are proportionately fewer throughout the southern and western states. The distribution of estimated membership in farmers' marketing and purchasing associations is shown in Table 18 and Figure 34.

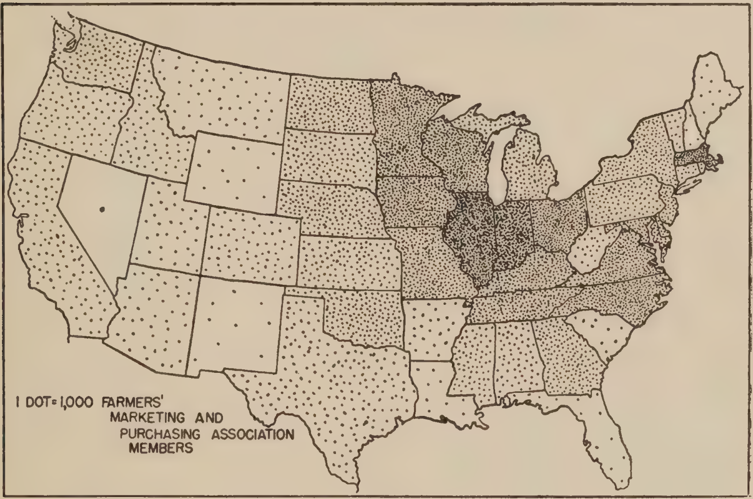
1 DOT=1,000 FARMERS' MARKETING AND PURCHASING ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

Figure 34. Distribution of Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Association Memberships, 1949-50. (Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1952,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 597.)

States having more than 350,000 members, according to the Farm Credit Administration Annual Report, included Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Well over half of the number of associations, estimated membership, and value of business is located in twelve states comprising the East and West North Central divisions.

In their study of the Finnish cooperative movements in this country, Kercher and associates have this to say:

> It has been in the intimate, neighborly, social setting of the hamlet, village, or small town that the cooperatives as a whole have had their

firmest roots. Here occupational and other class differences are minor factors, and consequently economic wants are sufficiently commonplace and uniform to be served by a relatively simple institutional structure. Furthermore, the face-to-face contacts of everyday life provide the ideal social experience for the development of common understanding and the formation of attitudes of group solidarity so essential to voluntary cooperative effort.[19]

VALUE ORIENTATION OF FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Ends. As previously indicated, the various farmers' organizations have for the most part satisfied various needs—economic, social, and political. It is true that some farmers' organizations—such as commodity agencies, special interest groups, certain cooperatives, and some locals of larger organizations—have rather specific objectives, but the farmers' movement as a whole and most local organizations have functionally diffuse ends. At the local level, for example, an important function may be that of providing fellowship for members. In any case, the objectives of farm organizations are not functionally as specific as in most bureaucratic organizations.

Norms. The farmers' organizations strive to obtain their economic, political, or other objectives within the framework of the American legal system and customary procedure. Even in the more radical movements such as the Nonpartisan League, the existing structure and norms were followed. Few, if any, agricultural parties or organizations in America have recommended the abolition of private property or private initiative, except as the farmer might be prevented from obtaining what he believed to be his share of the total proceeds from his products. Almost no agricultural movement or party in any society has recommended the abolition of private property in land, and frequent early revolts and movements were designed to strengthen the farmer's control and power over use of the land. Only in the early peasant's revolts was violence advocated and used.[20]

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[19] L. C. Kercher, V. W. Kebker, and W. C. Leland, Jr., *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941), pp. 119-120.

Several large organizations have followed the system of signing contracts to control production and prices. This is, of course, compatible with American norms. Several such contractual schemes have failed in the past because farmers did not abide by the contracts they had signed. It has been successful only among commercial fruit growers in California and in areas in which farmers are accustomed to the impersonal Gesellschaft-like nature of contractual agreements. On the other hand, the "sign-up campaign" of the Tri-State Tobacco Growers Cooperative Marketing Association in North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina, which claimed 90,000 members in 1923, failed and went into the hands of receivers. The farmers of these areas were less accustomed to Gesellschaft-like institutions, such as contracts, and they did not conform.

In summarizing our discussion of the value orientation of farmers' organizations, we may say that for the most part, except where only business interests were involved, a Gemeinschaft-like orientation has been maintained. Almost universally the organizations have recognized the importance of the family and the community in their organizational structures. "The Grange, . . . Farmers' Union, some labor unions, a few industrial corporations, and in some states the American Farm Bureau, are built around the importance of the community and family. They too may recognize the danger to America in the current decline of the primary groups."[21]

Before the spread of the civic organizations into the country, the general farm organizations furnished the first and sometimes only experience rural people had in organizational life outside the church and school. In most areas the organizational experience acquired in farmers' organizations, as in all Gemeinschaft-like systems, emphasizes friendly affectivity as opposed to the reserved affective neutrality of special interest, business, or governmental bureaucracies.[22]

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[20] For a brief account of these uprisings see Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 616 ff.

[21] Baker Brownell, *The Human Community—Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 100.

The farmers' organizations, especially the Grange with its secret ritual, are traditional in nature rather than rational and secular. A change agent attempting to reach farmers through the farmers' organizations can be more effective if his appeal is to the basic values of the rural people than if it is merely utilitarian. Morality, community solidarity, fair play, enlightenment, bountiful living, opportunities for the young, international understanding, just prices, improving international relations—all are objectives that appeal to farmers' organizations and are supported in their programs.

Social structure of farmers' organizations. Among the farmers' organizations, the Grange has the most elaborated status-role development. It is a secret, fraternal organization, and members call one another "brother" and "sister," thus symbolizing, if not completely achieving, an extension of the family to the organization. The official status-role designations are, in order of their importance: master, overseer, lecturer, treasurer, secretary, chaplain, steward, assistant steward, lady assistant steward, Pomona, Ceres, Flora, and gatekeeper. Rank in the Grange organization is in no small manner related to mastery of ritual which is rewarded by the granting of degrees.

The Farmers' Union is also a secret organization but employs much less ritual than the Grange and has no degrees. The American Farm Bureau Federation and its affiliates are neither secret nor fraternal. The power and rank of members of the farmers' organizations are usually based upon criteria not different from those held in the rural communities generally and in the other social systems of importance in these communities. Farmers who are influential in local farmers' organizations are usually also influential in the local community, school, church, and similar groups.

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[22] See, for example, C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6 (December, 1946), pp. 724-734.

PROCESSES INVOLVING SOCIAL ACTION IN FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Communication. The most important communication in the various farmers' organizations is carried on by informal interaction between neighbors and friends both at meetings and in the neighborhoods and communities. Thus, in a study of 500 farms in Michigan, Gibson[23] found that face-to-face contacts furnished the most important source of information these farmers had concerning cooperatives. Rohrer and Taylor believe the most significant development in communication and participation on the local level is that of the Ohio Farm Bureau discussion groups:

> In the Ohio Farm Bureau there are 1,600 Neighborhood Advisory Councils with 16,000 participants meeting each month for a discussion group program. About one-fourth of all members of the Ohio Farm Bureau participate in these discussion groups. Farm Bureau employees do not attend local meetings as discussion leaders or resource persons, but every month local discussion groups are provided a discussion guide by the state organization. The rationale for organizing these groups is that an autonomous local group will best serve the local community, the larger organization, and the nation by initiating local action. Most councils range in size from eight to twelve couples. The theory of organization used is that local people select the members of the group, thus achieving congeniality. Also meeting in members' homes contributes to this atmosphere.[24]

The farmers' organizations have other more formal means of establishing communication on the various levels.[25] Each of these organizations has a newspaper which goes to its membership. Many cover a wide range of subjects including international affairs, the economy, and democracy. *The Nation's Agriculture* of the American Farm Bureau, *National Grange Monthly*, and the *National Union Farmer* are house organs of the national farm organizations. Many organizations publish monthly or quarterly publications for local board members, field employees, and other persons in agriculture. *The GTA Digest* of the Grain Terminal Association in St. Paul is such a publication. This *Digest* does not deal solely with technical subjects but attempts to get people to think broadly on such issues as land reform in Italy or famine in India. The monthly magazine of the Ohio Farm Bureau is an example of a publication, originating at the state level, featuring a broad editorial and news policy.

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[23] Duane L. Gibson, *News for Farmer Cooperatives* (November, 1948). See also Duane L. Gibson, *Membership Relations of Farmers' Milk Marketing Organizations in New York State* (Ithaca: Cornell University, doctoral dissertation, 1940).

[24] Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[25] Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff.

Radio is also used by these organizations. Some use it in the traditional business fashion in that news and market programs are sponsored. Leaders of the farm organizations participate in radio discussions, thus informing members and the public of the organizations' stands on public issues. Several instances in which these organizations use radio as an educational device may be selected for illustrative purposes. The North Dakota Farmers' Union sponsors a daily half hour radio program which informs its audience of policy issues, general news, the United Nations, and features in which the Farmers' Union is interested. The Ohio Farm Bureau owns WEFD, a radio station whose programs reach into other states. Representatives of farmers, businessmen, industry, and organized labor participate in some of the weekly round table discussions of current issues. Once a month WEFD devotes a half hour to airing a recording of a Neighborhood Advisory Council discussion. The Women's Committee of the Iowa Farm Bureau sponsors a weekly radio program over WOI at Iowa State College. Three programs in the summer and early fall of 1951 were devoted to international understanding. The eight-station Rural Radio Network is sponsored by the general and some specialized farm organizations in the New York area. Its content includes a daily UN news report and many educational features.

In a nation-wide study of mass media used in educational programs of farm organizations, films were found to be used most widely. The complete distribution of various media uti-

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE OF FARM ORGANIZATION RESPONDENTS REPORTING ON THE USE OF SPECIFIED MASS MEDIA IN THEIR ADULT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

	Percent Reporting Specified Mass Media				
Farm Organization	*Films*	*Newspapers*	*Radio*	*Television*	*Other*
Farm Bureau	72	65	30	2	14
Grange	85	63	16	1	6
Farmers' Union	76	90	45	0	8
Cooperatives	44	74	50	6	35
Total Per Cent*	75	68	28	1	12
Total Number Reporting	511	463	191	10	79

SOURCE: Wayne C. Rohrer and Carl C. Taylor in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 115.

* Percentages do not add to 100 percent due to more than one selection of mass media on the part of respondents.

lized by the farm organizations is indicated in Table 20. The use of newspapers, it may be noted, ranks a close second to the use of films. If magazines and other printed material included in the "other" category were grouped with newspapers, the use of printed materials might well outrank the use of films by farm organizations. The farm organization newspapers and magazines devote much space to local happenings in order to maintain the interest of local members. At the time of the study, television was extremely urban-centered, but, without doubt, the use of television by farm organizations will increase.

Numerous pamphlets on subjects of interest are distributed through the farm organizational channels of communication. An illustration of an attempt to help farm people understand an important but very complex economic problem is a Farm Bureau pamphlet entitled, "Is Your Choice Inflation?" It is written simply and is well illustrated. A few sentences from this pamphlet indicate how this basic issue was put across: "With inflation you soon find that you have to swap a lot of cheap money for a little of the valuable things you need." "Because of the plentiful flow of money and the smaller trickle of things to buy with it, we are willing and able to pay higher and higher prices, bidding against each other on every item for sale. . ." "But the ones whose incomes can't change are really left behind in the race." This pamphlet apparently proved to be a more effective educational instrument than a much more profound leaflet on inflation put out by the same organization. Its distribution by the American Farm Bureau reached 100,000 and an additional 30,000 copies were distributed by Safeway Stores.

Decision-making. It is important for the change agent working in the local community to know how official policy is determined. The records and minutes of farmers' organizations are full of progressive action supported and made possible by them.[26] On the other hand, in many cases local farmers' organizations have blocked action which was in the interest of the community.[27] In general, decision-making on the local level in the farmers' organizations is according to American democratic organizational procedures and is subject to the same limitations and advantages common to all organizations on the community level. However, most observers are very much impressed with the manner in which decisions from local levels in farm organizations pass to higher levels.

In all these volunteer membership organizations, policy is made by the democratic and educational process of resolutions. Each organization lays great stress on this fact. Each has well ordered procedures by which resolutions are presented, debated, and finally approved. At each organizational level, committees discuss and carefully frame resolutions dealing with local, state, national, and international issues. In the national conventions, resolutions are again debated, refined, and adopted.

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[26] Paul A. Miller, *Community Health Action—A Study of Community Contrast* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), Chapter V. In this case the Farm Bureau played a very important role in initiating and obtaining a community hospital.

[27] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), p. 144. Hollingshead reports the actions which followed when a high school in Illinois lost its status as an accredited school in the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges. Owners of medium-sized farms, "working against the proposal through a secret Farm Bureau Committee," tried to prevent an increase in taxes needed to accomplish the reinstatement of the school.

Once approved, they become the policies of the organizations. These policy statements then travel back down the organizational channels and become materials for program discussion in state and local meetings. Resolutions finally approved are distributed to members and others through newspapers, printed pamphlets, and by word of mouth at state and local meetings.

Resolutions become an educational technique in still another way. Inasmuch as formal resolutions cannot cover every issue and variation of issue, and because resolutions are the basis for action following adoption, leaders of these organizations must interpret resolutions in fulfilling their roles. Leaders' interpretations of resolutions stimulate members to think and act on matters of interest to the organization. Interpretation of resolutions culminating in action is of educational value.

Boundary maintenance. No definitive study has ever been made of boundary maintenance by the farmers' organizations at the various levels, although it is one of the most interesting aspects of these organizations and would comprise an important area of sociological inquiry. Most of the great farmers' organizations have either been swallowed up or have avoided with great difficulty being swallowed up in political organizations and campaigns. The largest farm organization ever to appear in the world, the Farmers' Alliance, rose to its height in the United States in the depression years of the 1890's, entered politics, and there passed out of existence. The Grange grew to 850,000 members in 1875, entered politics, declined to a little over 100,000 members, and only at the turn of the century began its return to influence. The Farmers' Union continually warned its members and locals to keep out of politics, frequently referring to the experience of the earlier organizations. The Nonpartisan League attained its greatest power in the 1920's and took over the state government of North Dakota for a period but has now lost most of its members. Because of the various experiences in politics, the organizational literature of most of the farm organizations warns locals against the danger of being made into political organizations. The ritual of both the Grange and the Farmers' Union are boundary maintenance mechanisms making them more or less inaccessible to non-members and especially to non-farmers.

Social-cultural linkage. Over three million different farm families are members of the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the various farmer cooperatives. The many projects which the various units of these organizations have carried on for the betterment of the community and the nation would fill volumes. Rohrer and Taylor have recorded examples of this type of social-cultural linkage.[28] Almost all change agents working in communities having strong farmers' organizations will desire to work through them.

Table 21 indicates that the Cooperative Extension Service, government bureaus, and various mass media agencies use the farmers' organizations as channels of communication for their programs. It also indicates that various of the farmers' organizations use their sister organizations for the same purpose. They also work through the Cooperative Extension Service, schools, churches and religious organizations, and colleges and universities.

The farmers' organizations also bring their influence to bear on the law-making bodies of the land. This type of social-cultural linkage is described by Rohrer and Taylor as follows:

> These organizations regard legislative activity as so important that much of their research effort is devoted to matters in which legislative action is paramount. Employees that specialize in legislative activity take stands based on organizations' resolutions. Legislators, members, and the general public are informed of organizational beliefs and objectives through this activity. The structure must reach to the grass roots to effectively mobilize the testimonials for or against legislation. Research reports and regular legislative reports are channelled to local readers whose function it is to inform members on these issues. When taxation of cooperatives, new agricultural programs, price control legislation, etc., are being considered the farm organizations and cooperatives can arouse members to communicate with appropriate legislators.[29]

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[28] See Loomis, *et al., op. cit.*, pp. 100-122.

[29] Loomis, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 112.

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE OF ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING WORK WITH OR THROUGH "FARM ORGANIZATIONS" IN THEIR EDUCATIONAL WORK WITH ADULTS

Organization Reporting	*Rank order of organizations in using "Farm organizations"*	*Per cent of specified or- organizations" working with or through "Farm ganizations*
Farm Bureau	1	97
Cooperative Extension Service	2	96
Production & Marketing Administration	3	91
Farmers' Union	4	90
Soil Conservation Service	4	90
Farm Organizations (All)[1]	6	89
Government Bureaus (All)[2]	7	85
Grange	8	82
Farmers Home Administration	9	77
Supervisors	10	76
Radio Stations	11	70
Cooperatives	12	68
Weekly Newspapers	13	67
Chamber of Commerce	14	60
Schools	15	57
Libraries	16	46
Kiwanis	17	41
Rotary	18	33
Protestant Churches	19	30
Continuation Education Departments	20	29
Churches (All)[3]	21	26
Civic and Service Organizations (All)[4]	21	26
Lions	23	23
Parent-Teachers Association	24	19
Business and Professional Women's Clubs	25	15
General Federated Women's Clubs	25	15
County Medical Society	27	9
Catholic Churches	28	6

SOURCE: C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), Chapters 1 and 14.

[1] All Farm Organizations refers to a combination of Farm Bureau, Farmers' Union, Grange, and Cooperatives.

[2] All Government Bureaus refers to a combination of Soil Conservation Service, Production & Marketing Association, and Farmers Home Administration.

[3] All Churches refers to a combination of Protestant ministers and Catholic Rural Life leaders.

[4] All Civic and Service Organizations refers to a combination of the following: Lions, Rotary, Kiwanis, Optimist, Civitan, Altrusa, Quota, G.F.W.C., B. & P.W., A.A.U.W., League of Women Voters, PTA, Chamber of Commerce, N.A.A.C.P., and County Medical Society. These organizations are listed separately in the Table only if there were 50 or more returns.

SOCIAL ACTION IN THE CANADIAN MARITIME PROVINCES

The following case study is an excellent example of the benefits achieved through cooperation. It is revealing in that it shows the power of an effective organization produced by the efforts of the church and university.

ANTIGONISH FOR POTATOES AND FISH[30]

"Here's your party. Go ahead please."

Sandy McTaggart hadn't fancied being the one to do the talking, but they had elected him. He didn't know why it was so hard to begin. The six men crowding around the telephone with him here in the parish priest's house were his friends, lobstermen like himself off this Nova Scotia coast—all except the man from the university who had made hard, cold sense in his talk, but who dealt in new ideas.

The "professor" claimed they should all go back to school. Study classes for grown men! But he also said he thought he could show them how to get more money for their lobsters, and that part had sounded all right.

In his free hand Sandy held a sheet torn from the *Fisherman's Gazette*. One flinty thumb poked clear through the paper, serving the purpose of underscoring the name of Matt Skelly of Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. Skelly's street address and phone number were there.

The man from the university had insisted they would get more out of it if they did everything for themselves than if he did it for them, and they had emptied their work-pants pockets of nickels, pennies, and a few dimes, pooling the money to make this long-distance call. Their first venture in working together, he had said. An investment in their future—a step that might end up in changing the lives of everybody on this starvation coast. It sounded like a big order. If you took into account the Magdalena Islands, there were 8,000 miles of this kind of coast in the Canadian Maritime provinces.

Through the small-paned window Sandy could look out on a rocky chunk of it. Without craning his neck he could see nearly the whole of the straggling town in all its gray bleakness. He could see his own house. It had two rooms and no paint, and it was lashed by a rusty cable to granite boulders to keep his wife and five children from being blown out to sea in winter storms. Beyond the house, salt water lapped at the pilings of a gray, sagging wharf, and put a scuffing of white against seaweed ledges in the cove. The operator's insistent voice came again over the wire. "Here's your party—"

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[30] Ryerson Johnson, "Antigonish for Potatoes and Fish," *Adult Leadership*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1955), p. 5 ff.

Sandy felt his arm nudged gently by the man from Antigonish—the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University there. "Go ahead, Sandy." The man smiled in encouragement. "It won't bite."

In blunt succession then, they all heard Sandy McTaggart say:

"Are you Mr. Skelly? . . ."

"It says in the *Fisherman's Gazette* you buy live lobsters. . . ."

"Will you buy ours? . . ."

"How much you payin'? . . ."

"All right, we'll send you some."

That's all there was to it. Sandy forked the receiver against the side of the old-fashioned wooden phone box while they stared with misgivings. They had spent their precious pennies for—what? It had all sounded too brisk and inconclusive. They pressed him with questions.

"How much's he payin'?"

"Payin' market, he said."

"How much is market in Boston?"

Sandy stared sheepishly. "Clean forgot to ask."

"You didn't even tell him our names!"

"Don't matter," Sandy defended himself. "He can read our names on the shippin' tag."

The doubt remained on their faces. One spoke for all of them. "We undertake to ship our own lobsters, Jim Wallace won't like that."

Jim Wallace was the local buyer of all sea products, the on-the-spot representative of "outside interests." He was the local seller, too, of salt, twine, food, clothing, boat gear—everything a fisherman needed to try and stay alive and keep his family alive.

There was a trader like Jim Wallace in every town on the coast—the region's lone contact with the outside world of commerce. The trader set his own prices for the things he sold, and for the things he bought. The spread between these prices wasn't quite enough to let a man, however frugal, stay out of debt. The trader carried him on the books from year to year; he remained always just a little bit owing. This was little short of slavery, the university man had insisted. They hadn't called it anything themselves. It was just a way of life—a way of hunger and misery, but the only way they knew.

One of the lobstermen registered their undercurrent fear. "If we try and sell over Jim's head, might make him so mad he'd quit carryin' us. What'd we do then?"

"Carry ourselves, I figger." Sandy looked to the university man for support, and got it in the glow deep in the man's eyes. . . .

This was 26 years ago—and folks of the Canadian Maritime Provinces have been "carrying themselves" ever since.

Here's How it Grew

Twenty-six years ago Eastern Canada was economically desolate, the people starving and rebellious—and talking communism. Then came the telephone incident (almost word-for-word as recorded here, except that the names of people involved have been changed). The action dramatized the beginning of what has come to be called the Antigonish Movement—a continuous program of self-help which is permitting fishermen, farmers, and industrial workers to solve their economic and social problems through education and planned action.

The Antigonish Movement began with nothing more revolutionary than discussion groups—study clubs, they called them—organized along windswept granite shores. It started with the cooperative marketing of a single crate of lobsters, and went on to change the economy of Maritime Canada and the temper of a people. Today the cooperative shipping and processing of lobsters alone is a multimillion dollar business . . . and from Cheticamp and Grand Etang on the island of Cape Breton; from Port Beckerton, Larry's River, and Canso on the isolated shores of Nova Scotia, trailer trucks make scheduled trips from all manner of cooperative fish plants to the great marketing centers of New York and Montreal.

This is but a small part of the change that has come about. The well-being and the dignity of the individual have been raised to such a level that today retail stores owned and operated by fishermen, farmers, and miners serve some 220 Maritime communities. Wholesale cooperatives, in turn, serve the consumer stores. Nearly 100,000 people are pooling their savings in 430 credit unions with assets of more than 13 million dollars—credit unions that have loaned vastly more than this to their members for such significant things as fishing gear, a repair job on a boat, a milk cow, a farm tractor, a doctor's bill, new shingles on a house. And there are successful ventures into such things as insurance and cooperative housing.

To the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, goes much of the credit. The Dominion Departments of Agriculture and Fisheries have played an important part, too. But it was the men of Antigonish who put sparks to the endeavor and for 26 years fanned the flames. [*Note that the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University and the Dominion Departments of Agriculture and Fisheries are change agents instru-*

mental in achieving social-cultural linkage with the Antigonish group.]

How has this remarkably widespread program of self-help been accomplished, and just where does adult education come into the picture? Let's have a look at the initial planning.

The largest vocational group in the Maritimes are farmers. Fishermen come second. Facing the same peculiar hazards, and living in close-knit communities, fishermen in general are more inclined toward cooperative action than farmers. It was decided by the men of Antigonish to begin with the fishermen. [*Territorial considerations among others were important.*]

But commercial fishing is a different kind of business for nearly every kind of fish. The ground-shore fisherman's problems are different from the smelt fisherman's, the herring fisherman's, the lobsterman's, and so on. A decision was made to concentrate first on the lobster business since the price of lobsters had always been uniformly high in city markets, and there was less complexity in handling and shipping than with the more perishable cod, haddock, salmon, mackerel, shell-fish. . . . Success with lobsters, they thought, would spur cooperative efforts in the more complex fields.

And so it proved.

This takes us back to the apprehensive lobstermen of 26 years ago making the long distance telephone call. [*The initiation step in social-cultural linkage.*] They made up a crate of lobsters and shipped it to Mr. Skelly in Boston.

Time went by and nothing happened. A subject of gibes from their more timid neighbors, and gnawed by fear of economic reprisals from the local trader, they met every night to draw strength from each other and to talk it over. A crate of lobsters weighs about 140 pounds. The local trader was paying seven cents a pound. Seven times 140 figures out at $9.80. Maybe they should have been content with the trader's $9.80.

And so they waited and doubted.

When the check came it was for $32.

As soon as news got around that men on the Canso coast had broken tradition by shipping their own lobsters, thereby realizing better than three times the local price, it became immeasurably easier for the Extension people at Antigonish to peddle their dream of relating the academic findings of their university to the close-up, immediate needs of people.

We must deal in specifics. . . . If we are to make an idealist of the common man we must first satisfy his realism.

So affirms Dr. M. M. Coady, Director of Extension Work at St. Francis Xavier from the day the department was established in 1928. Sometimes he says it in another way: "You have to fill a man's belly before you can fill his head—or his heart or his soul."

The Men of Antigonish

It can be said of Dr. Coady: "He wants nothing for himself; he wants everything for everybody else." A big and hearty individual—his human warmth, his uncompromising sincerity, his salty talk and vigorous manner have turned despair into hope, and started men and women up the path to effective social action in a thousand places in the Canadian Maritimes. Director Emeritus since 1951, Dr. Coady in his own time has become legendary in the annals of adult education.

He (and men like Dr. A. B. McDonald who worked with him at Antigonish, and Father "Jimmy" Tompkins before them both) thought it was not enough for a university to offer good academic and classical training. He foresaw a university which would exert influences in contemporary society far beyond its traditional constituency, reaching out in active fight against ignorance and injustice where it found them. If the people wouldn't—or couldn't—go to the university, then the university, through its extension department, would go to the people. It would involve them in the educational process by meeting them on their own level of interest. [*Note the details concerning important status-roles and social rank attached to them.*]

But let Dr. Coady speak for himself:

> Any sound philosophy should teach that education is an instrument to unlock life to all the people. . . . Our present educational procedure does not do this. We are robbing our rural and industrial population of their natural leaders. The bright boys and girls are educated and leave their people. They enter the so-called vocations and professions. Their interests are now different from what they would be back home. . . .
>
> We need a new kind of education that will give the people life where they are, and through the callings in which they find themselves. It cannot be done in the old way. . . . No scheme of education conceived in terms of a *preparation for life* is going to do the job. Children do not run society. Clearly, the techniques by which we can improve the social order and hold an educated generation of our youth, must be achieved by the adult population. This means, then, the necessity of finding a scientific and effective technique by which all the adult people of our land can be mobilized in an adult education program.

This is what the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier has been concerned with all these years. It has developed an adult education program of which economic cooperation is the first stage. The core of the Antigonish Movement has been the study groups—study groups established to pave the way for self help through credit unions and cooperative enterprises.

It was early discovered that men who came to lecture could not change things very much, however inspiringly they spoke. The people had to do it for themselves. There was no sugar-coating of this reality. From the first it was stressed that there *was* no easy way—but that there *was* a way. The people had to develop their own leaders. They had to study—and then act.

This they did. Let's look at how it was done . . . how it is still being done. We can perhaps do this best by following a field worker from the Extension Department as he goes into a typical Maritime fishing community. It could be any one of a thousand drab and apathetic towns, peopled with fisher folk of whom lobsterman Sandy McTaggart is a prototype.

The First Mass Meeting

There has been some preliminary advertising through press and pulpit, enough to let the villagers know that there will be a mass meeting in their interests, featuring an out-of-town speaker. This mass meeting is the ice breaker for the whole program. [*The necessity of setting a stage upon which communication may take place.*] Here, the personality of the speaker is all-important. He has to set the stage for change and leave the people with enough enthusiasm to carry on the more prosaic part of the program—the learning part that precedes action—after he has gone.

In his talk he stresses basic, down-to-earth philosophies. He tells stories of what people have done for themselves in other places. (The story about the men who realized $32 for their crate of lobsters when the going price on the Canso coast was $9.80, was effective, as might be imagined. Forest and farm, mine and mill town supplied similar success stories as the program gathered momentum.)

The point is made and remade of the importance of brain working in double-harness with brawn. (Dr. Coady has been quoted as jarring village folks out of their apathy in this wise: "There are those who oppose education for grown men. They prefer to trust to native ability—to horse sense, as they say. It is well named. Because of this thinking, three-fourths of the human race are on a level of living very little above that of the good old horse.")

Since the mass meeting in a backward locality has as its first task the breaking down of apathy, if not outright suspicion and hostility, the field worker who forearms himself with some knowledge of people's everyday lives is in an immensely better position to make his talk effective. Suppose, for instance, that among the specialized bits of information that have come to his attention is this: a fisherman who bends all day hauling up lobster traps—or cod or pollock lines—from water that stays only a few degrees above freezing summer and winter, grows a protective covering of skin on his hands so thick that he has to take a knife sometimes and cut away the callouses on the inside of his finger joints so he can keep bending his fingers.

The field worker who calls attention to this homely reality has a ready-made channel to the topic closest his heart. "A man grows callouses on his brain too," the field man may remark. "Only not from working his brain too hard. That's the difference between hand callouses and brain callouses. A man grows callouses on his brain from *not* working it. The cure is easy. You cut away the brain callouses with a book. With a little study. You can even make a start by asking a few questions, or by setting your mind to answering another fellow's questions."

Included in the field man's talk are some of the fundamentals of credit unions, and of cooperative buying and selling; a hint of the promise they hold out in terms of human betterment. Just the bare outlines here, because it is hard to sell the idea of self betterment to people who all their lives have been struggling only for survival. They have so small a purchase on life already, they are slow to take chances with anything different.

To help break down this attitude, and in answer to those who might question whether such things were within the province of fishermen or miners or farmers, Dr. Coady has been known to thunder: "We ask the people of Canada to run the biggest business in the country, the political state. Are you in the same breath going to declare that they are not competent to run their own grocery store?"

When faint hearts still shrink at the complexity of the thing, complaining that there have been cooperative ventures that failed: "Of course there have been co-ops that failed," Dr. Coady readily agrees. Then he drives in his clincher. "They failed because there wasn't enough education behind them. People hadn't studied it out. They didn't rightly know what they were doing. That's why I say *first we study and then we act.*"

WHEN SCHOOL'S OUT

Study never stops in the Maritimes, but there does come a day when, to the study phase, action is added and people start their stores, their processing factories, their marketing organizations . . . and these have continued in successful operation for 26 years now, with their numbers and their influence steadily growing.

It is a stirring thing, and one worth many words of exposition and glowing description, to drive along the roads that wind through the Canadian Maritimes, through all the little towns, and see the weather-beaten structures—no more than shacks in some instances—in which people first started putting to the test their laboriously acquired notions of how to run a grocery store; a stirring thing to see that in town after town these grubby little stores have been boarded up and abandoned now as inadequate for serving the expanding needs of a vigorous people, while next door or across the street, their gleamingly new, efficient consumers cooperative has arisen. The stores, both the old and the new, stand as monuments to the faith of the pioneer planners who believed that people everywhere had within themselves the capacity to help themselves, and who clung stubbornly to the revolutionary concept that if people wouldn't or couldn't go to the university, then the university had a responsibility to carry its findings to the people.

And this is not the end. As Dr. Coady reminds us, economic cooperation is only the first step. [*Other ends and objectives supersede the short-run ends.*] In all phases of the Antigonish Movement pains have been taken to assure that study club members understand why St. Francis Xavier promotes study clubs and encourages definite action to follow the study.

As they plainly say in one of their bulletins, "The efforts of the individual member are meaningless unless he realizes that he is working, not merely to become a member of a credit union, not merely to live in a better house, or buy his groceries cooperatively, or sell the products of his labor cooperatively, but that by his organized reading, thought, discussion, and action, he is striking his little blow toward building up a true democratic society in which he will have a voice according to the extent to which he has prepared himself to speak."

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11

Social Systems in Health

Two quotations from the recent report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation are particularly appropriate in introducing the subject matter of this chapter. Not only do they express the importance of health to individual and national welfare but also they view health as a mirror of man's adjustment to his environment.

> Health reflects dynamically the measure of man's control over his environment and his ever-changing adjustment to it. Health makes possible the maximum self-expression and self-development of man. . . . Failure to safeguard health, whether through ignorance, neglect, or the lack of means, exposes the individual to suffering, incapacity, or death. National neglect of proper measures for the preservation of health exposes the country to weakness and destruction.[1]
>
> Health connotes not only the absence of manifest disease, but also the absence of non-manifest and undiagnosed disease or impairment. A perfectly healthy person is one totally adjusted to himself and his environment.[2]

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[1] *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

In no field of human organization is the optimum balance between Gemeinschaft-like and Gesellschaft-like relationships more important than in the administration of the healing arts. This is manifest in the following: "Good health service is never mechanical; it stems from the educated mind, the warm heart, and the practiced hands of our many health workers."[3] Anyone who has been hospitalized with a serious illness knows the importance of organizational efficiency. He also knows the importance of what Parsons[4] calls the "collectivity-orientation" which requires the doctor or nurse to place "the 'welfare of the patient' above his personal interests."[5] The patient-doctor relationship, although rational and secular does permit a certain amount of affect and particularism, both characteristics of the *Gemeinschaft.*[6]

In our society, numerous types of social systems are concerned with health. The doctor and the patient constitute one such system; the patient and a variety of health personnel—the nurse, the dentist, the medical social worker, the pharmacist, even the receptionist, constitute others. In a collective sense, "the public" or "the community," together with the public health personnel, constitute social systems. Two types can be discerned here—the personal, confidential, *vis-à-vis* relationship of the patient and the doctor alone in his office, on the one hand, and, a queue of hundreds of people lined up for mass inoculations on the other. In actual practice there is a range between these ideal types. The physician's nurse or consulting physicians may be present with the patient and doctor, thus altering somewhat the highly intimate nature of the social system. The public health nurse, on a family visit, may make a contact fully as intimate and confidential as the physician in his office. The objective of this chapter is to analyze a few of the prototype social systems, and by means of supporting data, attempt to give an overall view of the sociological aspects of our health systems.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[4] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 435.

[5] No doubt Parsons is correct in calling attention to this feature as differentiating the patient-doctor relationship from relationships in business. However, there is ample evidence that similar relationships exist in business, as between salesman and client. See G. P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observation on the Social Psychology of City Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 1 (July, 1954), pp. 36 ff. Nevertheless, in the healing arts the patient-doctor relationship is all important. "In considering . . . health services, one must not lose sight of a most precious relationship for health. Throughout the whole history of civilized man the relationship between patient and physician has been a special thing." *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

[6] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 714 ff.

Patient-doctor relationship. The idealization of this social system is found in the concept of "the family doctor." He ministers to the physical, the mental, and the spiritual needs; to the individual, the family, and the community. An excellent example of this relationship is found in "A Doctor of the Old School," from which the following excerpts are taken:

> Before and behind his saddle were strapped the instruments and medicines the doctor might want, for he never knew what was before him. There were no specialists in Drumtochty, so this man had to do everything as best he could, and as quickly. He was chest doctor, and doctor for every other organ as well; he was accoucheur and surgeon; he was oculist and aurist; he was dentist and chloroformist, besides being chemist and druggist. It was often told how he was far up Glen Urtach when the feeders of the threshing mill caught young Burnbrae, and how he only stopped to change horses at his house, and galloped all the way to Burnbrae, and flung himself off his horse and amputated the arm, and saved the lad's life.

On another trip of mercy the old doctor calls out to the desperate husband:

> Ye needna plead wi' me, Tammas, to dae the best a' can for yir wife. Man, a' kent her lang afore ye ever luved her; a' brocht her intae the warld, and a' saw her through the fever when she wes a bit lassikie; a' closed her mither's een, and it wes me hed tae tell her she wes an orphan, an' nae man wes better pleased when she got a gude husband, and a' helpit her wi' her fower bairns. A've naither wife nor bairns o' ma own, an' a' coont a' the fouk o' the Glen ma family. Div ye think a' wudna save Annie if I cud?[7]

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[7] Ian Maclaren, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, Inc., 1895), pp. 162 and 173.

Here the patient-doctor relationship manifests a functional diffuseness which contrasts sharply with that of most modern specialists. Also it should not be surprising if the particularistic, affectual behavior of rural Gemeinschaft-like communities conveyed some of these qualities and, therefore, stands in sharp contrast with the rational, secular kind of health system which accompanies the society as it becomes Gesellschaft-like. The specialization of the healing arts and the recent growth of group practice is characteristic of the present day.

> Group practice is a natural outgrowth of the development of modern medicine. Since the turn of the century rapid advances in medical research have produced a vast and complex science, one which is too tremendous and complicated to be grasped and applied by any one individual. This has led to an increase in specialization until today twenty-three different classifications of specialists and sub-specialists are certified by the various American Medical Specialty Boards. In addition, the medical team includes members from allied professional fields—the dentist, the nurse, the social worker, the physical therapist, the health educator, the dietitian, the psychologist, and the laboratory technician, to mention but a few. The physician accounts for only one in ten of those engaged in health work. To provide complete medical care of high caliber, the individual doctor calls upon numerous medical specialists for consultation and assistance, and also enlists the aid of workers in these many allied fields. . . .
>
> As medical practice has progressed in effectiveness and complexity, it has at times lost sight of the "patient as a person." There has been a tendency to accord greater prestige to superspecialization than to general practice, to place more emphasis upon the disease or the affected organ than upon the individual. A full understanding of the patient, including his personal problems and the impact of these upon his well-being or response to treatment, has often been neglected. In education and in daily practice the medical group can provide the most favorable environment for consideration of health service in its entirety. . . .[8]

Patient-nurse relationship. The patient-nurse relationship, perhaps even more than the patient-doctor relationship, combines the characteristics of the *Gemeinschaft* and the *Gesellschaft*. As Hiller writes, "Although she is by calling sympathetic to the patient's problems, the nurse must be self-contained almost to the point of being secretive."[9] The "religio-humanitarian origin" and the eminently feminine function of aiding the weak, ailing, and suffering, is in harmony with the report of the Commission on Hospital Care which describes women who developed modern nursing as being "imbued with ideals and strong desires to help the sick. . . ."[10]

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[8] Dean A. Clark and Cozette Hapney, "Group Practice," *The Annals*, Vol. 273 (January, 1951), pp. 43-44.

Public health agency and community relations. The local public health service is perhaps the most Gesellschaft-like of all the systems dealing with the healing arts. Emerson, long a spokesman for public health services, recognizes two resources available to a public health program—authority under statute or ordinance and the power of education. Emerson says:

> . . . The resources are granted by the expressed will of the people. The health officer, the executive, generally a physician, is employed by civil government to make effective use of both authority and education for the benefit of all the people. His patient is the community, not an individual.[11]

Although the dispenser and the recipient of the healing arts in this case are of a completely different order from that of the patient-doctor, nevertheless there is a mutuality of activity.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS CONCERNED WITH HEALTH

Ends and objectives. We have cited only three of the many health systems which constitute our *modus operandi* of health organization. We will now scrutinize them in relation to the elements of all social systems. Their objectives are alike. We can discern, from the following description of objectives, that they were the goals of the "doctor of the old school," that they are the ends of the specialists, of the group practitioners, of the general practitioners, of the nurse, and of the departments of public health. Of the latter, Emerson explains:

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[9] E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Social Structure* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 554.

[10] Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947), p. 46.

[11] Haven Emerson, "Essential Local Public Health Services," *The Annals*, Vol. 273 (January, 1951), p. 19.

> Its purpose is to apply the sciences of preventive medicine, prevent disease, develop a healthy population, and safeguard life at all ages so that the optimum of longevity may be attained.[12]

Somewhat more inclusive is the goal:

> . . . that medical care of highest qualitative and quantitative standards should be available to everybody. . . . From the viewpoint of social organization of health service, the term denotes the systematic organization of all the personal services by members of the various health professions and all the clinic, hospital, and related facilities necessary to attain the highest level of health, prevent disease, cure or mitigate illness, and reduce if not prevent disability, economic insecurity, and dependency associated with illness.[13]

Few, if any, thoughtful people in the health field are complacent about the attainment of their goals. It is recognized by many medical men and public health officers that much progress remains to be made in the rural areas of our country.

Norms. The medical profession has long been regarded as possessing a model system of ethics. The Oath of Hippocrates marked the beginning of what has been a twenty-five hundred year evolution of standards of conduct for the medical profession. The "doctor of the old school," were he practicing today, would be far less sure that he was doing the "right thing." He might well say with the Fittses: "We do not share the view that a code of ethics should be inviolate and unchanging. Moral truths may be unchanging but their application varies as social and economic factors change."[14] They see as chief among the variations the splintering of medical knowledge into specialties leading to group practice and in turn changing the patient-doctor relationship. They list as other factors demanding a reappraisal of the classical modes of conduct, the insurance principle in medicine with its uniform fee scales in a nonuniform field, and the radical treatment of serious disease which sometimes verges upon human experimentation. To quote Fitts and Fitts:

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[13] Franz Goldmann and Hugh R. Leavell, "The Problems of Medical Care," *The Annals*, Vol. 273 (January, 1951), p. 1.

[14] T. Fitts, Jr. and Barbara Fitts, "Ethical Standards of the Medical Profession," *The Annals*, Vol. 297 (January, 1955), p. 28.

> The essence of the doctor-patient relationship is the promise of the doctor to take complete responsibility for a patient once he has accepted his care, and the freedom of the patient in the choice of his physician. Once the physician's responsibility is divided between consultants, other specialists, and laboratory physicians, the strength of the doctor-patient relationship is weakened. Multiple practice is effecting a virtual revolution in medicine because of the fragmentation in responsibility that goes with it. . . . To replace this loss of an intense individual responsibility, it will probably be necessary to develop a greater sense of the collective responsibility of the profession to society. The absorption of the average physician in his own demanding practice has made him peculiarly blind to the inadvertent gaps in medical care that have arisen through social and economic forces outside his immediate acquaintance. This passive attitude toward the public in general, as opposed to his patient in particular, may be deeply rooted in the nature and history of medical care. In a world where it was impossible to cure more than a few of the sick and dying, the physician unconsciously and in self-protection closed his ears to all but the few he could help.[15]

In rural areas, where the family doctor still holds sway and group practice has made less progress, the bitter struggles over professional ethics are not so great. For all areas, however, they are in the offing, "and the two major areas of controversy (which are really two sides of the same coin) are: how to divide responsibility *for* the patient and how to divide fees *from* the patient."[16] These considerations will serve to illustrate the necessity in this field as in others, for the continuous establishing of norms so that they may function in a manner appropriate to the society to which they are to be applied.

Status-roles. The simple patient-doctor relationship is Gesellschaft-like in that it is governed by norms which are universalistic, as opposed to particularistic or personal considerations; in that responsibilities are specific, not blanket or general; and in that affection must be subordinated. It is Gemeinschaft-like in that it is a community of fate—it is collectivity oriented. Besides bearing a relationship to each other, both doctor and patient bear relationships to the community at large.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

> When an individual behaves in a certain manner with reference to a doctor he is characterized in the role of patient. Any social role is always defined in a social relationship, i.e., with reference to the interactive behavior of a plurality of individuals. Thus, "the patient" is defined in the relationship between himself and his physician. However, he is also perceived by the larger community—his friends and associates, the doctor's staff and colleagues—as a patient. In the complete depiction of the patient role, then the sociologist must immediately broaden his view so that the doctor-patient relationship is transcended and the patient is seen in a community context.[17]

In the community context, the authors then suggest that inquiry be made into how the patient role is initiated, how different people behave as patients in different social contexts, and how the individual "leaves" the patient role. These considerations suggest certain differences in the patient role from that of most others: "One may say that it is in a certain sense a 'negatively achieved' role, through failure to 'keep well,' though, of course positive motivations also operate, which by that very token must be motivations to deviance."[18] It is not inevitable as the status-role in the family into which one is born; it is capriciously intermittent as contrasted with a controlled intermittency of the status-role in an informal group.

> The sociological study of the role of doctor involves many preliminary focal points. It is obvious that the doctor role is defined in his relationship with patients. However, the doctor is a highly visible person in the American community. As a doctor he is expected to participate in various civic affairs, and he is expected to live a particular kind of "social" life. His relationships with colleagues in the different contexts of private practice, the hospital, public health programs, and the like are also crucial for characterizing him in the role of doctor. In a sense, then, the mere depiction of the doctor role

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[17] Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, "The Patient-Doctor Relationship," in *Needed Research in Health and Medical Care,* by Cecil G. Sheps and Eugene E. Taylor (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 194-195.

[18] Parsons, *op. cit.,* p. 438.

in a sociological investigation is more complex than the depiction of the patient role.[19]

The idea that the persons playing the patient role and the doctor role are visible in their respective roles not only to each other but community-wise is always somewhat true, but obviously the phenomenon is much more prevalent in the rural and small town setting. Who the ailing are and how they conduct themselves; who the doctor is and what he says and does is not nearly so visible in New York City as at Four Corners.

Power, authority and influence. The public health official is in possession of legitimized authority. He operates within statute or ordinance and is charged with specific duties for which his authority is spelled out. The authority of the practitioner in relation to his patient is absolute once the doctor has accepted the case; it is illustrated in the expression "doctor's orders." The private practitioner wields much power. From his social rank one would expect that his influence would be great. People listen to him on medical and health matters, where he is an authority, but he is not without influence on many civic boards and commissions dealing in matters for which he has no specialized training.

Social rank. In a recent nation-wide study[20] which sought to establish the popular evaluation of jobs and occupations, the chief factors making for job prestige seemed to be highly specialized training and a considerable degree of responsibility for public welfare. The physician and the state governor were thought by the respondents to rank very high; they tied for second place among the ninety categories listed, the U.S. Supreme Court Justice being the only occupation which was rated higher. Other health-related jobs which fell in the upper half of the ranking were dentist in seventeenth place, psychologist in twenty-second place and biologist in twenty-ninth place.

Sanctions. Positive sanctions for the medical profession operate similarly to those of other organized groups. Election to local, county, state, and national office within the various associations, appointments of varying magnitudes to hospital staffs, selection by an elect group such as American College of Surgeons are rewards and recognition. Negative sanctions differ from most other groups in that they are almost entirely meted out by the profession itself and are practically independent of lay control.

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[19] Sheps and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[20] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations; A Popular Evaluation," in *Sociological Analysis* by Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949), pp. 464-467.

> But perhaps the most conspicuous fact is that even their own professional associations do not play a really important part in the control of medical practice and its potential abuses through formal channels. It is true that medical associations do have committees on ethics and disciplinary procedures. But it is exceedingly rare for cases to be brought into that formal disciplinary procedure.
>
> Thus the well-known reluctance of physicians to testify against other physicians in cases of malpractice, in the courts, has its parallel in the reluctance of physicians to resort to the formal disciplinary procedures of their own associations, which do not involve "washing their dirty linen" before laymen. . . .
>
> As one physician put it, "Who is going to throw the first stone? We are all vulnerable. We have all been in situations where what we did could be made to look very bad.[21]

Territoriality. It will be remembered that one of the chief unaccomplished objectives of America's health program is adequate service *to all.* A good part of the explanation of the exclusion from adequate service is territorial. In every important aspect of service, whether it be doctor, nurse, dentist, hospital, or public health department, the rural dweller finds himself disadvantaged. The regional and territorial aspects of selected services will be treated in subsequent paragraphs.

Many studies show that the family doctor in rural areas is the chief source of treatment and information in health matters.[22] Table 22 and Figure 35 indicate that the more rural the

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[21] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-471.

[22] Charles R. Hoffer, *et al.*, *Health Needs and Health Care in Michigan—Report of a State-wide Survey* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 365; June, 1950), p. 24, and Olaf F. Larson and Donald G. Hay, "Family Utilization of Health Resources in Rural Areas," *New York State Journal of Medicine,* Vol. 51, No. 3 (February, 1951).

TABLE 22

HEALTH INDICES AS RELATED TO INCOME AND RURALITY, BY STATES

States	Urbanity, 1950 (New Def.)		Per Capita Income, 1950	Hospital Beds Per 1,000,[1] 1952	Physicians Per 100,000,[2] 1949	Per cent of Births In Hospitals Attended by Physician, 1949		Infant Mortality Rate,[3] 1949	Maternal Mortality Ratio,[4] 1949	Active Dentists Per 100,000 1949
	%	Rank				Whites	Non-whites			
New Jersey	86.6	1	1,689	7.8	137	97.9	91.6	26.0	74	64
New York	85.5	2	1,864	10.9	209	98.3	96.4	26.1	73	88
Massachusetts	84.4	3	1,600	10.2	187	98.8	96.9	24.5	66	64
Rhode Island	84.3	4	1,561	9.6	132	98.7	97.9	24.0	81	56
California	80.7	5	1,751	8.2	165	98.4	96.4	26.8	71	66
Connecticut	77.6	6	1,766	10.0	166	99.4	98.0	23.1	70	66
Illinois	77.6	7	1,752	7.8	152	96.6	78.4	27.4	77	66
Michigan	70.7	8	1,583	7.3	112	96.9	88.9	28.9	68	47
Pennsylvania	70.5	9	1,523	8.1	139	92.8	90.8	29.2	74	57
Ohio	70.2	10	1,582	6.8	125	94.8	89.7	28.1	60	47
Maryland	69.0	11	1,547	9.2	158	91.6	64.2	30.5	72	37
Florida	65.5	12	1,210	6.8	119	92.1	38.9	33.8	192	41
Utah	65.3	13	1,271	5.4	127	98.1	92.8	25.3	26	54
Washington	63.2	14	1,642	7.6	123	99.0	97.7	27.1	61	61
Colorado	62.7	15	1,392	10.5	183	93.5	94.3	35.1	101	52

TABLE 22 (*Continued*)

States	*Urbanity, 1950 (New Def.)*		*Per Capita Income, 1950*	*Hospital Beds Per 1,000,*[1] *1952*	*Physicians Per 100,000,*[2] *1949*	*Per cent of Births In Hospitals Attended by Physician, 1949*		*Infant Mortality Rate,*[3] *1949*	*Maternal Mortality Ratio,*[4] *1949*	*Active Dentists Per 100,000, 1949*
	%	*Rank*				*Whites*	*Non-whites*			
Texas	62.7	16	1,278	5.7	105	80.8	57.7	42.7	131	30
Delaware	62.6	17	1,909	9.4	141	95.7	63.9	30.4	61	36
Missouri	61.5	18	1,401	8.0	133	84.5	77.8	30.0	99	55
Indiana	59.9	19	1,451	6.2	113	93.1	67.0	29.1	67	43
Wisconsin	57.9	20	1,431	9.8	113	97.2	91.7	26.5	65	66
New Hampshire	57.5	21	1,282	8.6	143	98.4	95.0	27.9	75	44
Nevada	57.2	22	1,875	7.2	136	98.6	86.5	32.1	182	52
Arizona	55.5	23	1,240	7.8	124	92.5	83.2	51.0	158	34
Louisiana	54.8	24	1,045	7.6	115	91.7	63.3	37.2	136	35
Minnesota	54.5	25	1,332	8.5	144	97.5	93.1	25.6	60	70
Oregon	53.9	26	1,523	6.4	124	98.3	95.2	24.6	60	66
Kansas	52.1	27	1,338	7.2	116	95.7	79.5	25.9	58	46
Maine	51.7	28	1,161	7.3	112	91.2	88.6	32.5	96	39
Oklahoma	51.0	29	1,070	9.0	106	87.2	62.0	30.8	140	32
New Mexico	50.2	30	1,109	6.2	88	70.1	69.6	65.1	154	26
Wyoming	49.8	31	1,509	8.0	99	96.8	83.9	37.4	45	45
Iowa	47.7	32	1,417	9.1	115	96.1	95.9	25.7	56	55
Virginia	47.0	33	1,158	6.8	103	82.4	39.0	38.1	113	30
Nebraska	46.9	34	1,467	9.0	126	96.1	93.8	24.1	84	64
Georgia	45.3	35	969	6.6	95	88.1	31.9	33.3	202	25

TABLE 22 (*Continued*)

States	*Urbanity, 1950 (New Def.)*		*Per Capita Income, 1950*	*Hospital Beds Per 1,000,[1] 1952*	*Physicians Per 100,000,[2] 1949*	*Per cent of Births In Hospitals Attended by Physician, 1949*		*Infant Mortality Rate,[3] 1949*	*Maternal Mortality Ratio,[4] 1949*	*Active Dentists Per 100,000, 1949*
	%	*Rank*				*Whites*	*Non-whites*			
Tennessee	44.1	36	962	6.6	100	76.8	47.3	40.2	147	29
Alabama	43.8	37	836	4.2	77	77.0	28.2	39.6	215	20
Montana	43.7	38	1,605	10.5	104	97.3	90.0	29.7	101	47
Idaho	42.9	39	1,287	6.4	88	97.8	94.4	27.0	83	38
Kentucky	36.8	40	911	6.3	92	63.0	51.7	41.2	135	29
So. Carolina	36.7	41	831	5.8	76	84.3	18.8	39.0	193	19
Vermont	36.4	42	1,184	9.3	160	92.0	75.0	32.4	72	37
West Virginia	34.6	43	1,049	6.2	94	66.2	34.1	39.6	109	35
No. Carolina	33.7	44	951	6.5	86	84.4	35.0	38.1	130	26
So. Dakota	33.2	45	1,308	8.4	87	96.7	84.4	26.0	58	40
Arkansas	33.0	46	825	7.0	95	77.5	21.1	33.7	194	22
Mississippi	27.9	47	698	5.8	74	79.7	16.8	39.6	248	21
No. Dakota	26.6	48	1,298	9.5	85	95.4	91.1	30.7	59	41

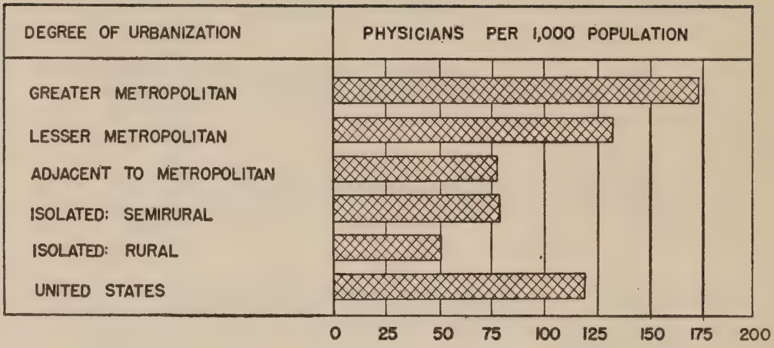
SOURCE: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation*, Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), selected tables.

[1] Total existing hospital beds per 1,000 population, June 1952.

[2] Number of physicians (active and *inactive*) per 100,000 population, 1949.

[3] Deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births, 1949.

[4] Ratio of observed to expected deaths for maternal mortality, 1949.



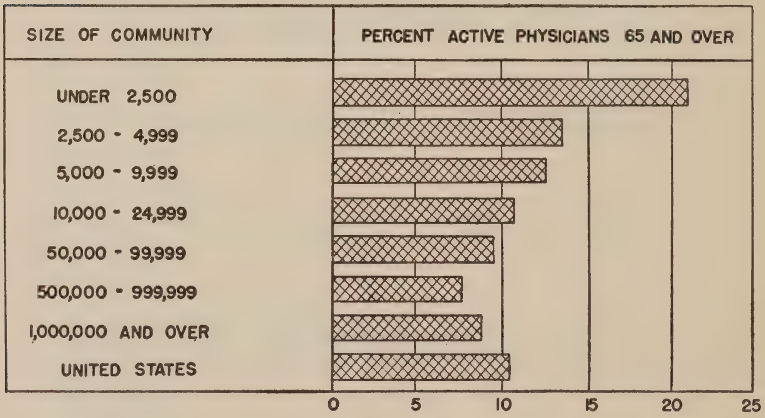


Figure 35. Number of Active Non-Federal Physicians per 100,000 Population by Degree of Urbanization and Percentage of Active Civilian Physicians Age 65 and Over by Size of Community, 1949. (Metropolitan counties are those within standard metropolitan areas as defined by the Census. A greater metropolitan county is one containing any part of a standard metropolitan area of 1 million or more. Lesser metropolitan counties are all other metropolitan counties. Adjacent counties are not themselves metropolitan but are contiguous with metropolitan counties. All other counties are classified as isolated. Of these, semi-rural counties contain an incorporated place of 2,500 or more, rural counties do not.) (Source: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation.* Vol. 3, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, p. 143.)

region the larger the number of persons per physician. Also, the more rural the region the larger the percentage of older physicians. Rural areas are doubly handicapped. They are more dependent upon physicians than other areas and there are fewer physicians to serve them. "A . . . great difficulty is the vicious circle in which all too many rural people in thinly settled areas get caught: they cannot get physicians because there are no hospitals and cannot get hospitals because there are no physicians and maybe cannot get either because of low per capita wealth or income."[23]

As might be expected and as indicated by Table 23, specialists are concentrated in urban areas, the range being two per 100,000 in rural areas to 59 per 100,000 in metropolitan centers. This condition prevails also for physicians in hospital services, there being less than 0.5 such physicians per 100,000 population in purely rural areas as contrasted with 31 per 100,000 in metropolitan areas.

Table 24 shows that there is a strong tendency for medical college graduates to practice medicine in the same sized population category from which they came. About three-fifths of the graduates coming from centers of one half million or more, for example, were practicing in this sized population center, whereas two-thirds of all medical school graduates coming from rural areas were found to be practicing in places of less than 50,000. These data imply that if rural people are to receive adequate medical care, their sons and daughters should be given opportunity to receive training in the healing arts.

The low nurse-population ratios in the rural areas and regions are evident from Table 25. New England, a highly urbanized region, reports the most satisfactory ratios, 357 nurses and 25 public health nurses per 100,000 population. The Southeast, the most rural region, shows the most unsatisfactory ratios, 150 nurses and 10 public health nurses per 100,000 population.

The availability of dentists is positively correlated with the

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[23] *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 1, p. 68.

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF ACTIVE NON-FEDERAL PHYSICIANS PER 100,000 POPULATION, BY DEGREE OF URBANIZATION AND TYPE OF PRACTICE, 1949

	Physicians per 100,000 Population				
Degree of Urbanization[1]	*Total*	*General Practitioners and Part Specialists*	*Full Specialists*	*Hospital Service*	*Not in Private Practice*
UNITED STATES	119	64	37	16	2
Metropolitan and Adjacent	137	67	45	22	3
Greater Metropolitan	173	79	59	31	4
Lesser Metropolitan	131	59	48	20	4
Adjacent	78	58	14	5	1
Isolated	74	55	14	4	1
Semirural	80	57	17	5	1
Rural	50	48	2	—[2]	—[2]

SOURCE: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 3, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 144.

[1] Metropolitan counties are counties within standard metropolitan areas as defined by Census. A greater metropolitan county is one containing any part of a standard metropolitan area of 1 million population or more. Lesser metropolitan counties are all other metropolitan counties. Adjacent counties are not themselves metropolitan but are contiguous with metropolitan counties. All other counties are classified as isolated. Of these, semirural counties contain an incorporated place of 2,500 or more population; rural counties do not.

[2] Less than 0.5.

TABLE 24

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN MEDICAL COLLEGE GRADUATES IN PRIVATE PRACTICE, BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF PRIOR RESIDENCE AND BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE, 1935 AND 1940 GRADUATES COMBINED

Size of Community of Prior Residence	*Size of Community of Practice*							
	All Places		*Under 2,500*	*2,500-9,999*	*10,000-49,999*	*50,000-99,999*	*100,000-499,999*	*500,000 and over*
	No.	*Per Cent*						
ALL PLACES	5,382[1]	100.0	9.5	11.6	22.1	10.4	21.4	25.1
Under 2,500	674	100.0	27.6	15.3	23.9	9.3	15.0	8.8
2,500-9,999	603	100.0	10.7	34.9	19.9	9.0	15.2	10.2
10,000-49,999	969	100.0	7.6	9.3	47.6	8.1	14.9	12.5
50,000-99,999	425	100.0	7.1	6.4	13.7	45.9	13.5	13.5
100,000-499,999	910	100.0	5.7	7.2	13.7	4.5	58.8	10.1
500,000 and over	1,443	100.0	5.3	5.7	12.8	6.3	9.7	60.2

SOURCE: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation*, Vol. 3, (Washington, D.C.: U. G. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 145.

[1] Excludes 358 graduates for whom size of community was unknown.

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF ACTIVE PROFESSIONAL NURSES AND NUMBER OF PUBLIC HEALTH NURSES PER 100,000 POPULATION BY REGION AND SELECTED URBAN AND RURAL STATES, 1951 AND 1952

Region and Selected States	*Nurses per 100,000 Population*[1]	*Public Health Nurses per 100,000 Population*[2]
UNITED STATES	237	14
New England	357	25
Central Atlantic	295	20
Southeast	150	10
Southwest	162	11
East North Central	238	12
West North Central	217	10
Rocky Mountain	255	13
Far West	298	17
Most Urbanized States, 1950		
New Jersey	280	27
New York	323	21
Massachusetts	370	25
Rhode Island	305	25
California	297	18
Most Rural States, 1950		
North Dakota	203	8
Mississippi	96	9
Arkansas	93	5
South Dakota	203	5
North Carolina	165	11

SOURCE: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 199-200.

[1] Data apply to 1951. Nurses in Army, Navy, and Air Force hospitals have been allocated to the various states on the basis of the relationship of nurses in the Armed Forces to the average census of patients in Armed Forces hospitals.

[2] Data apply to 1952. Staff level public health nurses. Excludes supervisors, consultants, and public health nurses employed in schools of nursing, colleges, and universities.

per capita income, and negatively correlated with the extent of rurality of the states. (See Table 22.) New York reports 88 active dentists per 100,000, at one extreme, and South Carolina reports 19 per 100,000 at the other extreme.

Public health services, with few exceptions, are less prevalent among rural than among urban residents. Mott and Roemer report a study of low income farm families in which only 37 per cent of the children up to eight years had received smallpox vaccination. In contrast, 89 per cent of the children in these ages had been vaccinated in 28 large cities studied by the National Health Survey of 1935-1936. Three out of four rural counties provide no regular monthly prenatal clinics for expectant mothers, despite high rural birth rates.[24]

Speaking of the legal possibility of the proliferation of local health departments and minimal standards for adequate service, Emerson writes:

> If every village, town, parish, county, and city were to take advantage of state authority to establish a local health jurisdiction, we might have as many as 150,000 autonomous health departments, most of them with so few voters and taxpayers that they could not afford even the part-time services of one public health nurse. Competent professional opinion is to the effect that 1,200 local health departments would not only suffice to cover the continental United States but would offer opportunity for employment of professional and assistant personnel trained for the work and organized to deliver a service of good quality at a modest annual per capita cost of about $1.50. . . .
>
> Not more than a half-dozen of our states have authorized and organized local government health services so as to cover all their area and population by operating units capable of delivering at retail, in home, shop, factory, and school, all the essentials of a modern health department. . . .
>
> A population of not less than 50,000 is needed to give tax support and to justify the employment of the sixteen persons required to conduct a good local health department. A budget of $75,000 is needed. . . .[25]

Figure 36 shows the percentage of total state populations covered by services of full-time local health services. In 1950, there were 1,193 health organizations embracing 1,540 counties or approximately half of all counties in the United States. All counties and the entire population of Maine, Delaware, Maryland, New York, Alabama, North Carolina, New Mexico, and Utah were covered by full-time local health services. Vermont, on the other hand, had no full-time health organizations rendering local health service.

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[24] Frederick D. Mott and Milton I. Roemer, *Rural Health and Medical Care* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), pp. 348-349.

[25] Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

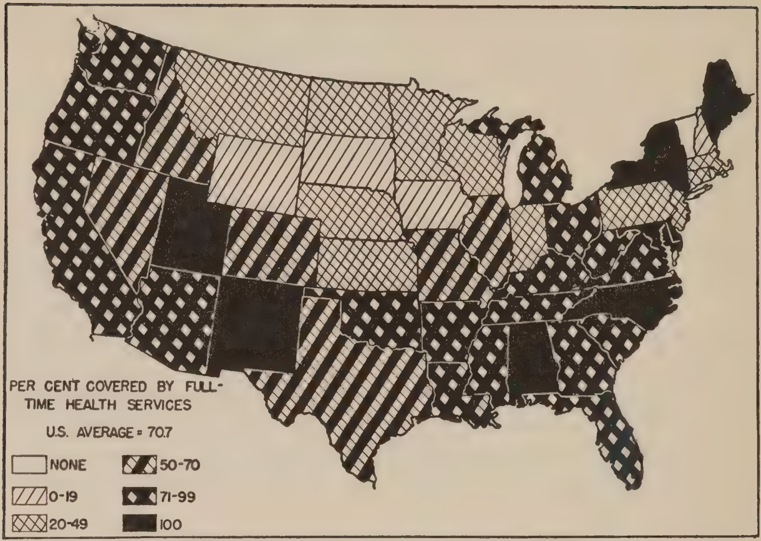

Figure 36. Per Cent of Total State Population Covered by Full-Time Local Health Services, December 1950. (Source: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation.* Vol. 3, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. 258-259.)

Despite the objection on the part of some private practitioners, public health services such as vaccination and examination of children are becoming accepted public health functions. The provision of pure water supplies, pasteurization of milk, and other sanitary accomplishments promoted in the United States are lacking in many countries south of the border and in many other areas of the world.

Facilities. Along with an expanding medical knowledge and the specialization of training has come specialization of equipment. "Modern medicine . . ." Clark and Hapney assert, "demands a vast armamentarium of medical equipment which requires substantial original capital to purchase and sizable current expenditures to operate. The day is past when one doctor could command all the physical resources essential for the practice of medicine."[26]

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[26] Clark and Hapney, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

It is in the clinics operated by group practitioners, but more especially in the hospitals of the nation that the facilities are located for collective use. An examination of the ecology of hospitals and their comparative adequacy will give an over-all picture of the facilities of the health-related social systems; it will also illustrate that the absence or inadequacy of facilities expresses the inequitable territoriality of health services in as convincing terms as does the absence or inadequacy of personnel. Of course, the two are closely related, physicians not being willing or able to practice without facilities (hospitals) and hospitals not being able to be created without physicians.

In 1952, there were 7.9 hospital beds per 1,000 population in the United States. Of these not all were considered acceptable, and the ratio of acceptable beds per 1,000 population was 6.7.[27] The low hospital bed-population ratio in Alabama stands at 4.2; in New York the ratio is 10.9. (See Table 22.) Using the figure of 6.7 acceptable beds per 1,000 population for the United States, it is estimated that 5.6 new beds per 1,000 are needed to meet acceptable standards.[28] The southeastern states need 6.9 additional beds per 1,000 and New England requires 3.8 additional beds per 1,000 to meet acceptable standards.

The availability and use of hospitals are determined largely by income and custom. Hamilton, for example, says that rural states would use as much or more hospital service than urban states if income were comparable.[29] In families having incomes of $10,000 or more, the number of general hospital cases per 1,000 was found to be nearly double the rate for families having annual incomes of $2,000 or less.[30]

The Commission on Hospital Care designated that community hospitals, that is, the smallest hospitals, should serve at least 15,000, and preferably 20,000 people.[31] For such centers, it was recommended that no hospitals of less than 50 beds be constructed, because smaller units, it was believed, would not be adequately equipped and staffed. Opponents of the small hospital have cited "numerous examples of general physicians who do surgical work far beyond their competence in these facilities. They contend that a small hospital where a low quality of medical care is provided may be worse than no hospital at all."[32]

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[27] *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 3, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[29] C. Horace Hamilton, "Size of the Hospital Community," *Hospital Survey Newsletter* (October, 1945).

[30] Elin L. Anderson, *The Extension Service's Responsibility in Aiding Rural People to Improve their Health and Medical Services* (Washington, D.C.: USDA, Extension Service, 1947).

Such limitations on the hospital and the assumption that the thirty-mile limit, an hour's drive, constitutes the area from which hospitals should draw their patients impose great disadvantages upon the rural people of the United States. The magnitude of this disadvantage for rural people becomes obvious when it is realized that between two and three million people in the United States live more than 30 miles from any hospital. Many more live in the 30 mile radius of the 1,200 hospitals which are too small or for other reasons are unacceptable to the American Association for registration.[33]

Effective hospital service can be rendered only when the large medical centers which provide medical education and research integrate their programs with regional hospital centers having 200 or more beds, and these in turn, cooperate with the community hospital centers with 50 or more beds. For trade center areas with fewer than 15,000 people, places too small to support hospitals with the minimum of 50 beds, an out-patient and diagnostic center is recommended. The plan for the integration of these services as developed for Michigan has been reported by the Commission on Hospital Care as a model for other states.[34]

Facilities for mental patients. A similar descriptive analysis could be made for all of the institutions created to provide care for prolonged illnesses. The most important, from point of view of number of cases, are those established to take care of the mentally ill. No single type of institutional care is so lacking in competent personnel as that of the mental hospitals in this country.[35] Rural areas especially are without professional services for mental illness, even though "personality disorders occur as often among farm people as they do among non-farm residents, and perhaps more often."[36] A recent study of mental health in a rural area of Ohio showed that at least 10 per cent of military-aged men had personality disorders sufficient to disqualify them for service. It also indicated that approximately 21 per cent of the sixth-grade pupils exhibited evidence of poor mental health.[37] Mott and Roemer believe that the incidence of mental ailment is equal to or greater than that of urban areas, based upon draft rejection and other studies.[38]

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[31] Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411.

[32] *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation*, Vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[33] Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[34] The Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

In June 1952, there were 3.2 mental beds per 1,000 total population, but only 2.8 per 1,000 were considered acceptable. The most favorable ratios were reported for the urbanized states in the New England and Middle Atlantic areas. However, surprisingly favorable ratios (five or more beds per 1,000) were found in heavily rural states including Montana, Nevada, Wyoming, North and South Dakota. In general, however, the rural southern states have few hospital beds for mental disease.[39]

EFFECTS OF INADEQUATE MEDICAL SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

The analysis of a variety of indices seems to demonstrate that progress in modern medical science and its application have been greater in the city than in the country. The possible advantages of rural life to health, including outside work and lack of congestion, are insufficient safeguards to the health of rural people.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[36] A. R. Mangus and John R. Seeley, *Mental Health Needs in a Rural and Semi-Rural Area of Ohio,* Mimeographed Bulletin No. 195 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1947), p. 12.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[38] Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143.

[39] *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 3, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

Adequacy of facilities as revealed by mortality data. The overall trend in the age-adjusted death rate in this country, as shown in Figure 37, has been downward. In 1900, the rate per 1,000 population stood at 17.8. By 1949, the rate had fallen to 8.8 per 1,000 population, exclusive of armed forces deaths over-

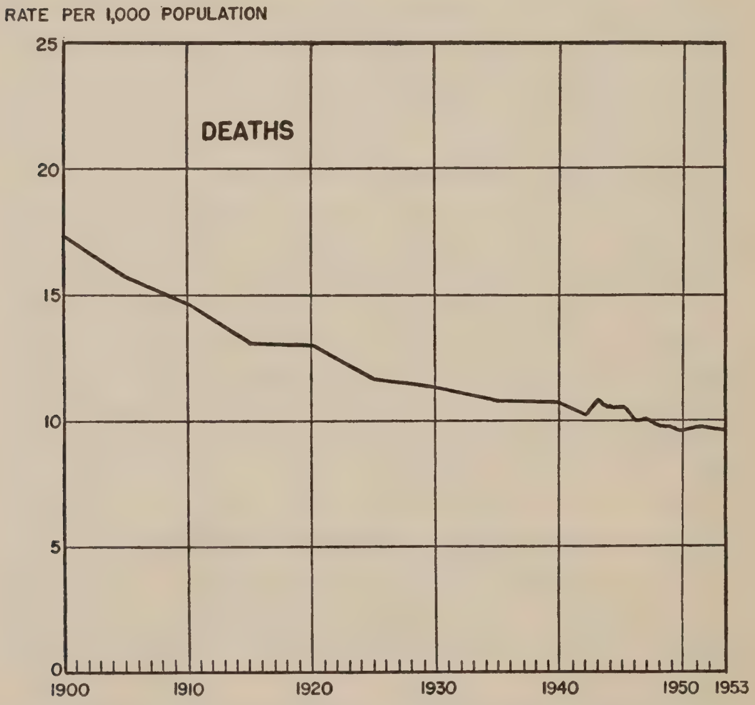

Figure 37. Death Rates per 1,000 Population in the United States, 1900-1953. Rates for 1940 and 1950 based on population enumerated as of April 1; for all other years estimated as of July 1. Death rates for 1952 and 1953 are estimated. (Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 63.)

seas. This over-all decline amounted to approximately 40 per cent in a half century, and the decline for females exceeded that for males.

Life expectancy at birth in the United States stood at 68.4 years in 1950. For various segments of the population, however, significant differences are to be noted. Life expectancy for non-white males was 59.2 as compared with 72.4 for white females. The life expectancies for non-white females and white males stood at 63.2 and 66.6, respectively. Life expectancy for all parts of the population has been increasing. In 1900-1902, or approximately fifty years ago, life expectancy for white males was 48.2; for white females 51.1.

Maternal and infant death rates. Maternal and infant mortality rates reflect, perhaps as well as any of the indices, the net effect of medical personnel and facilities upon rural areas. Maternal mortality ratios (the ratio of observed to expected maternal deaths) for all states are indicated in Table 22. These ratios are lower than expected in most urban states and higher than expected in the southern states. Utah reports an unbelievably low ratio, while Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia report extremely high ratios. Not only are maternal mortality rates higher in rural areas, they increase with declining size of urban center. This is true of both white and non-white maternal mortality rates.

Infant mortality rates, discussed briefly in Chapter 3, reveal considerably higher levels in rural than in urban areas. Rates for all states may be found in Table 22. The infant mortality rate among whites in metropolitan counties in 1951 was 23.9 per 1,000 live births as compared with 28.4 per 1,000 live births among whites in non-metropolitan counties. Among non-whites the rates were 39.9 and 50.1 per 1,000 live births in metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties, respectively. With few exceptions, infant mortality rates are higher for both whites and non-whites in the rural states.

CAUSES OF DEATH

Great differences exist in the causes of death in an industrialized nation such as the United States and a less industrialized country such as Mexico. The three most frequent causes of death in Mexico, namely, (1) diarrhea, enteritis, etc., (2) pneumonia (all forms), and (3) malaria, are relatively unimportant as causes of death in the United States. Such facts emphasize the importance of sanitation, adequate housing, and the employment of effective devices for control of mosquitoes in the improvement of health.

In the United States, in both rural and urban areas, deaths from infectious diseases have dropped from the beginning of the century to the present. In contrast, the rates from chronic diseases such as cancer and cardiovascular-renal diseases have risen, a development which Mexico and similar regions may anticipate as life expectancy is increased.

The leading causes of death for selected age groups, shown in Table 26, reveal much concerning the nature of modern American society. Disease of the heart, a chronic rather than infectious disease, stands out as the leading cause of death. The rate is well over twice as great as the second cause of death, namely, malignant neoplasms. Accidents of all types have been creeping up on the list of major causes of death. Note that "accidents" rank fourth among all causes of death, first among infants, and second among those between 25 and 44 years of age. It is noteworthy that strictly social causes of death, namely suicide and homicide, appear among the first ten causes of death for the age group 25-44.

Each year approximately 14,500 farm people are killed and an additional 1.3 million are injured in accidents. Farm work is among the dangerous occupations but, unfortunately for farm families, workmen's compensation insurance does not apply.[40] The following list of causes of accidents on farms in the United

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[40] *The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 1, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

TABLE 26

LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH (RATE PER 100,000) FOR SELECTED AGE GROUPS, U.S., 1949

Causes of Death	*All Ages*		*1-4 Years*		*25-44 Years*		*65 and over*	
	Rate	*Rank*	*Rate*	*Rank*	*Rate*	*Rank*	*Rate*	*Rank*
ALL CAUSES	971.7	—	149.1	—	276.1	—	6,578.5	—
Diseases of Heart	349.1	1	—	—	52.0	1	2,963.5	1
Malignant Neoplasms	138.9	2	10.9	4	40.8	3	900.1	3
Vascular Lesions of Central Nervous System	100.9	3	—	—	11.6	6	943.8	2
Accidents	60.7	4	37.8	1	44.1	2	236.5	5
Diseases of Early Infancy	43.2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Influenza and Pneumonia	30.0	6	19.6	2	6.7	8	180.8	6
Tuberculosis, all forms	26.3	7	6.6	5	28.3	4	65.8	10
General Arteriosclerosis	20.5	8	—	—	—	—	251.3	4
Chronic Nephritis	17.5	9	—	—	6.1	9	131.6	8
Diabetes Mellitus	16.9	10	—	—	—	—	132.1	7
Congenital Malformations	—	—	12.1	3	—	—	—	—
Gastritis, Duodenitis, Enteritis, and Colitis	—	—	6.5	6	—	—	—	—
Meningitis (excludes meningococcal and tuberculous)	—	—	3.3	7	—	—	—	—
Other Infective and Parasitic Diseases	—	—	2.9	8	—	—	—	—
Measles	—	—	2.8	9	—	—	—	—
Acute Poliomyelitis	—	—	2.7	10	—	—	—	—
Suicide	—	—	—	—	11.9	5	—	—
Homicide	—	—	—	—	9.4	7	—	—
Cirrhosis of Liver	—	—	—	—	5.6	10	—	—
Hypertension (without mention of heart)	—	—	—	—	—	—	69.9	9

SOURCE: *Building America's Health, The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation,* Vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 36-37.

States, in order of frequency, indicates the extent of mechanization and rationalization of the farming and ranching enterprises: falls of persons, machines, animals, motor vehicles, handling objects, hand tools, stepping on or striking against objects, falling or flying objects, burns or shocks.[41]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE DIFFUSION OF THE HEALING ARTS

An accusation frequently leveled at the free countries of the West is that after the West develops disease control and health knowledge which would reduce suffering and death in the underdeveloped areas, nothing is done about it. That this accusation is unjust is dramatically proven by the cases of Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and other similar areas.[42] Nevertheless, gaining an understanding of the processes involved in the adoption and diffusion of improved practices in health in underdeveloped areas provides the social scientist with one of his most challenging opportunities. Unquestionably, there is untold suffering and millions of needless deaths throughout the world because the scientific achievements of the advanced countries have not been brought into active use in the less favored areas. Actually, many die in the United States for the same reason. The authors hope that the following analysis of an unsuccessful attempt to bring medical facilities to a major segment of the population of the United States will help to explain some of the problems involved in improving health.

[41] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 91.

[42] For a description of the results of 50 years of United States influence on Puerto Rico, see *Puerto Rico's Economic Future—A Study in Planned Development* by Harvey S. Perloff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950). With birth rates remaining almost the same, death rates were decreased, giving Puerto Rico one of the most rapidly increasing and densest populations of the world. See an evaluation of this and other similar studies in Latin America in Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), Part XI.

THE TAOS COUNTY COOPERATIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION

The Taos County Cooperative Health Association,[43] if it had been successful, would have had great significance for the two and a half to three million Spanish-speaking people in the five southwestern states. The Association was formally organized in 1942 and began to give service to 907 paid-up member families. It had the formal approval and active support of the Taos County Medical Society. And it was supported by the Taos County Project, an experiment in adult education started in 1940 by the University of New Mexico and the Harwood Foundation with support from the Carnegie Corporation. It also received financial support and other assistance from the Farm Security Administration. After the Association was incorporated in 1942, the FSA made a grant of $47,000. During the first year of operation the 1,145 families enrolled paid $38.03 per family, 80 percent of which was covered by a subsidy from the FSA. Under the subsidy no family paid less than $1 and none more than $32, each family paying in relation to ability. Medical care was made available for less than $8 per person of which the FSA bore all but 15 per cent.

Need for health facilities. At the time the Association was formed, Taos County had great need for more adequate medical care. The infant mortality rate was as high as for any county in the nation.[44] In the period from 1937-1939, 64 per cent of the deaths reported were listed as "cause unknown," an indication that no physician handled the case at the time of death. In 1941 no death certificates had been issued for 62 per cent of those who died, likewise indicating that no physician was present. In the 1937-1939 period, 1,629 births occurred and of these 1,122 were delivered by midwives with little or no formal training, and 193 by other persons with doubtful training.[45] An investigation of human nutrition found diets so poor in one of the villages that the activities of the children walking to school and playing at recess created such a tissue deficiency of oxygen that the remainder of the day was required to make it up. The same investigator found that whole villages were sometimes so infected with intestinal parasites that school lunches had no effect on physical performance until a village-wide parasite elimination campaign was conducted.[46]

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[43] Charles P. Loomis, "Putting a Cooperative Health Association Over to Spanish Speaking Villagers," in *Studies of Rural Social Organization* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), Chapter 18; and "The Taos County Project of New Mexico—An Experiment in Local Cooperation Among Bureaus, Private Agencies, and Rural People," in *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1950), Chapter 7.

[44] An infant mortality rate of 108 per 1,000 live births, traceable mainly to diarrhea and enteritis, was reported.

Great ingenuity was used to involve the rural people in the program of the Association. This included the utilization of local leaders, an educational program, and as previously stated, a heavy subsidy. The University of New Mexico, through its Extension Division, the Taos Project, and the various cooperating agencies, especially the Farm Security Administration, applied unbelievable energy and ingenuity in order to make the Association a success. "Here, it would seem, was an enterprise that could not fail. Here was a serious medical need that an organization had been set up to meet. Here was good medical care made available at a cost (including the Farm Security Administration's subsidy) of less than $8.00 per year per person. And yet, in spite of tremendous efforts, membership in the Association steadily declined until, in 1948, it ceased to function."[47] Why had an operation which the communists accuse us of not attempting to make for underdeveloped nations failed in our own country? We cannot specify all the reasons. We shall, however, attempt to provide some reasons in the following analysis.

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[45] Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 175.

[46] Michael Pijoan, "Food Availability and Social Function," *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4 (November, 1942).

[47] Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

STRATEGY OF CHANGE INVOLVING TWO CONTRASTING SOCIAL SYSTEMS

As Saunders writes, "one major cause was that the Association attempted to provide Anglo medical care to a people who were not yet culturally ready to receive or support it."[48] In 1944, it had been noted that although 95 per cent of the people of Taos County spoke Spanish, all of the physicians and most of the professionals and business people in the county were Anglos. United States Department of Agriculture investigators,[49] after the Association had operated a year, found that 80 per cent of the families knew little of the purpose for which it was organized, 40 per cent did not know the manager, only 40 per cent could name one or more of the members, and 22 per cent did not know it had a board of directors. No doubt, as Saunders implies, this lack of information about the Association is in part responsible for its failure. But even this is related to the difficulties involved in an attempt to link the value systems of the families and communities of the rural Spanish-speaking people on one hand, and the social systems which carry Anglo medicine, on the other. One year after the establishment of the Association, 15 per cent of a sample of member families interviewed had paid for a midwife's services and approximately six per cent had used a native medicine man, even though hospitalization and delivery by a physician were included in the Association membership. These facts point to the necessity for comparative analysis of the Spanish-American social system and the Anglo system. We shall now attempt to explain some aspects of the failure of the change system, the Taos Project, which attempted to attain social-cultural linkage with the target system, the Taos County Cooperative Health Association.

The medical social system incorporated in the Association was organized around specific roles, namely, doctors, nurses, and auxiliary personnel. It was an Anglo system which had worked effectively in Anglo communities but which had not been adapted to Spanish-American culture. Some of the cultural differences which are pertinent to the analysis of the failure of the Taos Association will be indicated here. These are essentially differences in the ends and norms of social systems and individuals.

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[49] T. Wilson Longmore and Theodore L. Vaughan, *Taos County Cooperative Health Association, 1942* (Little Rock: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture; September, 1944), mimeographed.

Relative importance of the family. The nuclear and extended families are much more important in the motivation and value orientation of individuals in the Spanish-American than in the Anglo culture. Physicians and hospital administrators who have had experience with Spanish-Americans as patients have commented upon the great difficulty of retaining them in the patient role, especially when family crises or celebrations are involved. Thus, to quote Saunders:

> One Spanish-American woman, for example, has a record of having left a tuberculosis ward seven times against medical advice. Each time a minor family crisis was involved. . . . Another instance is that of a Spanish-American woman who was injured in an automobile accident and was confined to a hospital with two broken bones. After a few days she and her husband decided that she should go home. Physicians argued that the woman needed to be in traction if the bones were to heal properly and that she also required specialized care that could not be given in the home.[50]

This was to no avail. Rural Spanish-Americans desire home treatment with family members present even when not as effective as hospital treatment. Probably because of the strength of the family, many hospitals in Latin America are equipped with beds for relatives of patients.

Dependency vs. independency. In an analysis of the patient-doctor relationship, Parsons described functionally important aspects of the physician's roles which prevent him from slipping out of his doctor role. Thus, one of the functions of the relationships, namely, "universalism, functional specificity, and affective neutrality, is to enable the physician to 'penetrate' sufficiently into the private affairs, or the 'particular nexus' of his

[50] Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

patients to perform his function,"[51] and at the same time avoid slipping out of his role as physician. Such an institutionalization requires that the physician not permit the patient to become dependent upon him in any way outside the limits of his status-role. Anglos in general, and Anglo doctors in particular, put much greater stress upon independence in interrelationships than do Spanish-Americans. Numerous studies[52] have emphasized the importance of dependence rather than independence in non-family as well as family social systems in the Spanish-American culture. In relying on the institutional protection of their status-roles and as a consequence avoiding dependence, Anglo doctors may fail to give the degree of satisfaction provided by local medicine men, who do not value independence so highly. The apparent need for personal dependence on the part of persons in the Spanish-American culture is in sharp conflict with the general Anglo emphasis on ability to "stand on one's own feet" and to be "beholden to no one."

Personalism and particularism. In the Spanish-American culture particularism, or personal relations as ends in and of themselves, has greater importance than in the Anglo culture. Whether or not another person is *simpatico* (a word for which there is no exact English equivalent but which indicates the quality of increasing others' self-esteem on personal grounds in interaction) is of great importance to Spanish-Americans. Although doctors may emphasize such behavior as "the bedside manner," the emphasis on professional competency is much greater. The local medicine man and *curanderos* who depend extensively upon personal appeal and who do not need to guard against the patient becoming dependent upon them, have a distinct advantage over Anglo physicians because of the great emphasis in the Spanish-American culture on personal relationships.

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[51] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

[52] Loomis, *Studies in Rural Social Organization, op. cit.*, p. 385. Here the *peon-patron* relationship is described. This is related to the paternalism sub-configuration of the *familia* configuration as developed by Florence Kluckhohn in *Los Atarqueños, A Study of Patterns and Configurations in a New Mexico Village*, Radcliffe College doctoral dissertation (Cambridge, Mass., 1941). See especially Saunders, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.

Dislike for bureaucracy. A number of scholars have incorrectly considered the Spanish-American to be individualistic and have stressed his preference for informality.[53] These terms may correctly describe the Spanish-American if applied to specific large-scale, bureaucratic, or Gesellschaft-like reference groups. However, the great sacrifices Spanish-Americans make for family and friends and the effective cooperation carried on through these groups belie any individualism so far as these reference systems are concerned. Thus, for a father or other family member to act in a manner unbecoming to his status-role is condemned, perhaps more in Spanish-American than in Anglo culture. Actually what has been incorrectly called individualism and dislike for formal groups is in reality lack of intimate acquaintance with and definite dislike for bureaucracy or large scale *Gesellschaft* organization. In the field of health this is expressed in the resistance to hospitalization.

Acceptance and resignation vs. work and efficiency. As Saunders emphasizes, the Anglo lives in the future; the Spanish-American in the present. "The Spanish-speaking ideal is *to be* rather than *to do.*"[54] This leads to behavior which the Anglo may explain as laziness or lack of "gumption." The rural Spanish-Americans generally accept sickness as inevitable. It is not something that effort may remedy.

Differences in orientation to time. Most American students of Spanish-American culture have observed a basic distaste for discipline in the timing of events. In Latin America *hora Inglesa* means time by the clock as contrasted to time in the everyday sense. Florence Kluckhohn[55] has described the Spanish-American orientation to time as the *mañana configuration.* The rural Spanish-American finds the Anglo medical time schedules and requirements for punctual appointments disagreeable and frustrating. Thus, Saunders writes that "in dealing with Spanish-speaking patients it may prove wise not to expect rigid adherence to time schedules. . . . Long-in-the-future appointments should be avoided. . . ."[56]

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[53] Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[54] Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 126. See also Arthur L. Campa, "Mañana is Today," *New Mexico Quarterly*, Vol. 5 (1939); and Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization, op. cit.*, pp. 385 ff.

[55] Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*

Fear and anxiety. A vague fear of the unknown or of unpredictable forces on the part of Spanish-Americans is another cultural configuration. Young women, for example are supposed to be afraid of the dark. This general feature of Spanish-American culture is mentioned because it accentuates the feelings of insecurity that most people have in the unfamiliar surroundings of the clinic or hospital. Saunders[57] reports the case of a Spanish-American woman who so feared the hospital, and particularly the delivery table, that she delivered the child herself in a corner of the room rather than ring for attendants.

PATIENT-FOLK PRACTITIONER COMPARED WITH THE PATIENT-PHYSICIAN RELATIONSHIP

For the rural Spanish-American, the local medicine man (*curandero*) and local untrained midwife (*partera*) compete with the Anglo physician. All three are specialists, although the Anglo physician is more specialized than his competitors, the *curanderos* and *parteras*. For the Spanish-Americans certain major differences exist which are more important than the differences in specialized training. The local folk practitioners do not charge as much as the Anglo doctor. They ply their skills and knowledge in the homes of sick persons and do not require special facilities such as hospitals. Their approach is more personal or particularistic. They may be related through kinship to the family, and they speak the same mother tongue as the patient.

The basic relations of the folk practitioner with his patient falls closer to the *Gemeinschaft* end of the continuum than those of the physician with his patient. Since the Spanish-American culture carries with it the particularistic-ascriptive patterns, it does not find modern medical practice based upon opposite and more Gesellschaft-like patterns compatible. These are among the reasons why the Taos County Cooperative Health Association failed. They are also reasons why modern medical science is not in as great demand in many rural cultures as in most urban cultures.

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[56] Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[57] Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

EXPLANATION OF FAILURE

We may briefly review the discussion to this point specifically mentioning the relevant elements and processes involving Anglo medical practice and the Spanish-American people.

Ends and norms. For the Anglo medical system the chief end was that of improving the health of the people. The normative orientation of the Association required that improved health be accomplished through the application of science in accordance with universalistic standards and in such a manner as to retain the independence of the practitioner. Affectual involvement was to be avoided. The practitioner held himself responsible for only specific activities of the patient, namely, those related to his health. Thus, the practitioner maintained a non-personal, non-affectual, and specific as opposed to diffuse orientation.

The Spanish-American people desired a highly personalized service in which the practitioner assumed responsibility for economic and general well being as well as health, and in which "care" meant affection. The Anglo physician, when compared with the medicine men and midwives in these respects, were found less satisfying.

Status-roles. The doctor, nurse, and other roles in the social system which brought medical practice to the Latin American villager fit less readily into the status-role prototypes of the family, the chief social system of the villager, than was the case of the medicine men and midwives. Not only did the latter not require the impersonal, anxiety-producing hospital, but also they could often assume the status-roles of fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, etc.

Power. The power implied in "doctor's orders" for the Anglos simply did not apply for the Spanish-Americans. Many cases of complete disregard for the orders and prescriptions of the doctors and nurses, even when this disregard leads to great danger and even pain are on record. In the Spanish-American society the priest exercises far more power than the medical doctor; in Anglo society the reverse is true. Social rank in this instance is closely related to power. Among the Latin Americans in New Mexico, the doctor's social rank depended less upon his technical competence than upon other factors, including income and local influence.

Sanctions. The local medicine men, because of their reputation for control over the natural and supernatural, could apply at least imaginary positive and negative sanctions which were not available to the medical practitioner. The more adequate facilities available to the latter did not overcome the advantages which the belief system gave to the non-medical practitioner.

Territoriality. The fact that the medical doctor's service was restricted to the hospitals and the clinics which were often long distances from the people must be considered important, especially for women and children who are customarily closely confined to the home and village. The hospitals which did not accommodate family members of the sick patient were anxiety-provoking because they offered little to which the Spanish-Americans were accustomed. Spanish-Americans might be expected to visit a priest whose residence was as distant as that of the doctor, but his powers are not thought to be space-bound as in the case of the doctor.

FAILURE TO ESTABLISH SOCIAL-CULTURAL LINKAGE

When the senior author studied the Taos County Cooperative Health Association in 1942 there were three clinics in the towns of Taos, Questa and Peñasco, each staffed by a full-time registered nurse and visited on a regular schedule by physicians and dentists. The waiting rooms of these clinics were usually full of Spanish-American people off the farms and ranches with ailments ranging from broken bones to minor illnesses and injuries. At this time social-cultural linkage seemed to be in process. When he returned in 1949 after the Association had failed, the doors and windows of the clinics in Questa and Peñasco were boarded up and the expensive equipment was idle. The Taos clinic, now a private doctor's office, was empty. There were few patients in any of the private doctors' offices. The people who filled the clinics had returned to the local *curanderos* and to resigned suffering. Had social-cultural linkage been achieved, the clinics would be filled today.

Communication. The fact that few of the health practitioners spoke Spanish, of course, was an important factor in the failure of the Association. Not to be overlooked when two cultures merge are basic differences in value orientation which lead to misunderstanding, perhaps more important than language barriers. For instance, one of the doctors who helped support the Association before it was organized, while under the influence of liquor in one of the community saloons, shouted something to the effect that the trouble with Taos County was that there were too many "dirty Greasers." This was frequently mentioned by local people when the Association was discussed.

Decision-making. The Association was established with a board of seven directors elected at the annual membership meetings of the Association. The treasurer-manager and the staff of the Association was employed by the board of directors. In the Taos Association, the participation of Spanish-Americans in the decision-making of their Association was feeble. With their dislike for formal meetings and with their lack of experience in large scale organizations, the Spanish-Americans lost interest in attending after the start. This meant that the employed staff made most of the decisions. In view of the tendency on the part of Spanish-Americans to stress dependency and personal relationships, such a development was to be expected.

Boundary maintenance. The two systems, the Anglo staff and the Spanish-speaking members of the Association continued to hold to their own value orientations. These basic differences in the value orientations of the Spanish-Americans and the Anglos in large measure explain the failure of the Association. Before an Association such as this can succeed, acculturation of the Spanish-Americans to Anglo ways must proceed further than it had in 1949, or the Anglo medical system must adjust itself to the value orientation of the Spanish-Americans.

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12

Federal Agency Systems

EXCEPT FOR THE EXTENSION SERVICE, THE GROWTH of governmental agencies providing services to farmers is confined largely to the past twenty-five years. Hence, bureaucracy in the form of numerous governmental agencies has made its debut relatively recently in rural communities throughout the United States. With regard to bureaucracy, Hardin says: "Our government is heavily obligated to defend the country, to keep order, to regulate and promote the economy, and to provide social security and other services. To fulfill these ends requires a formidable organization of power that is symbolized in the term 'bureaucracy,' a swear word in several languages."[1]

In the pages to follow, our discussion is limited to selected governmental agencies: namely, the Agricultural Extension Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farmers' Home Administration, the Forest Service, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Social Security Program for farmers. Broadly these agencies may be classified as action, and non-action or educational agencies. Action agencies have been defined as those having programs "making use of the police power, the power to tax, or the power of eminent domain and as including those extending credit or grants-in-aid or subsidies."[2] The non-action programs include research, demonstration, education, and Extension.

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[1] Reprinted from *Freedom in Agricultural Education* by Charles M. Hardin by permission of the University of Chicago Press. Copyright 1955 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved. Published 1955.

THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

The work of the Extension Service involves many and varied social systems. Those to whom service is rendered deal chiefly with the county agricultural agent, the home demonstration agent, and the 4-H Club worker. In addition to their relations with the public, extension personnel have a network of relationships with the Extension Division of the Land Grant Colleges which in turn is related to the national program. Typical social systems will be presented and analyzed in terms of the elements of social systems. The case at the end of this chapter illustrates these elements and the processes involved in change.

County agent–farm family relationships. The Gemeinschaft-like nature of the scene when agricultural extension began is typified in the following fictionalized excerpt, concerning pre-extension work in an inaccessible area of the Kentucky mountains at the turn of the century. Aunt Ailsie is impressed with the demonstrations of bread-making, table-setting, and sewing but is shocked because the young women conducting the demonstrations are unmarried. Uncle Lot, her husband, falling back upon the Bible and Solomon, sees the workers as "furrin" women. After a lively exchange involving manners, morals, and theology, he says: "Them women may be quare and furrin and fotched-on, but, in my opinion, they hain't runaway wives."[3]

Today, many of the relationships of extension personnel with farm families are Gemeinschaft-like. A home-demonstration agent, for example, may plan a kitchen with a local leader who in turn may teach the lesson in neighborhood groups. She often knows in detail the habits of a given family, the traffic route of the children, the balance of farm and housework expected of the mother, and the day-to-day routine of the father. On the other hand, the relationships may be more Gesellschaft-like. The county agent on a platform, surrounded by some sixty or seventy men, demonstrating how to cull chickens exemplifies relatively Gesellschaft-like situations in extension work.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17 and Charles M. Hardin, *The Politics of Agriculture* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952), Chapter 2, Section 4.

[3] Lucy Furman, *The Quare Women* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923), pp. 7-44.

County agent—agricultural college extension division relationships. Formality and informality, friendship and business, all exist in the interrelations between the personnel of the Extension organization itself. A county agent may feel close to one of the subject matter specialists, for example, and seek his assistance more often than that of a specialist whom he knows only in more formal relationships. In groups of counties and especially in districts, the agents often have a decided in-group feeling. Problems, personal and professional, are often discussed in such groups as one would with old friends. The relations of the agents with officials at the higher echelons are unlikely to be entirely uninhibited, since standards, promotions, salary, and policy generally are controlled at this level. However, many times there are personal friendships and friendly relationships between the lowest and the highest echelons. One Extension director made it a point to make conferences with all staff members lengthy, filled with witty stories and small talk. Much of the interaction up and down the hierarchy, however, is restricted to impersonal "memos," "reports," and other formalized means of transacting business in a bureaucracy.

Objectives. Several legislative acts furnish the foundation for the Agricultural Extension Service created and defined by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The Morrill Act which established the colleges of agriculture in the United States was passed in 1862. This was followed by the Hatch Act of 1887 which provided for the establishment of the agricultural experiment stations. In addition, the Adams Act of 1906 should be mentioned, since it provided funds for agricultural research.

The objective of the Agricultural Extension Service, as described in the Smith-Lever Act, was "to aid in the diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on agriculture and home economics and to encourage the application of the same through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise." The Extension Service, as related by Knapp, "may be considered a system of rural education for boys and adults by which a readjustment of country life can be effected and placed upon a higher plane of profit, comfort, culture, influence, and power."[4]

Probably the most important unfulfilled objective is that of reaching all of the people. The accusation is made that Extension programs reach the upper third of the people and that they generally are the ones who "don't need it." In an open-class society such as ours, the lower classes should profit from the gains of the upper classes as improved practices diffuse downward. The reason for the accusation is discussed in connection with social rank.

Norms. The county agent is beset with a number of normative decisions peculiar to his profession. One such decision revolves around the balance necessary between the will of the people and the agent's technical knowledge. A home demonstration agent giving a demonstration on preserving huckleberries, for instance, was confronted with folk knowledge of a canning method in which cold water and aspirin were used. There was no scientific basis for using this method. Approval of "any process that works" would have given scientific and professional approval to an unscientific folk practice. In this instance it was not difficult to be loyal to the scientific training of the profession. In other cases, however, a county agent may give approval to a project which has no scientific basis, but which is advocated by an important power group.

[4] Seaman A. Knapp, "The Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1909* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 160.

Extension personnel are also subjected to divided loyalties—to the State Extension Service, on one hand and to the county on the other. The following example illustrates such divided loyalty:

> FL had unenthusiastically organized a county Agricultural Advisory Council at the behest of the State Extension office, but he felt it was unnecessary in the county. It took months to get organizations to designate representatives, and it was hard to find meeting times when a majority could or would appear. The sessions themselves were strained and awkward, since many council members were cautious about each other, and preferred to operate via old accustomed channels. After a few unproductive meetings, FL decided the group was too unwieldy, and ceased to schedule any more. He knew the state office was disturbed by this outcome, but felt he had made a genuine effort to make the organization work. He believed its failure was not his fault, but was simply due to the impracticality of the idea at the county level.[5]

Any effective county agent inevitably builds up a large group of friends and supporters who would be an asset if the agent were to get into politics. The framers of the Hatch Act foresaw this possibility and this act prohibits political activity by extension personnel. Besides this legal prohibition, however, a strong ethic regarding non-participation in politics prevails within the service.

Status-roles. Although Figure 38 indicates the main organizational outlines of the Extension Service, it fails to emphasize sufficiently the local nature of the organization. While the county agent is subject to the authority of those at the state level, the position he occupies in his own county is not that of an inconspicuous cog of a large state bureau. He has subject-matter and organizational status-roles which mark him in most of his activities. It is hard for him to be "just another member" in the Farm Bureau, for example. Here his knowledge of agricultural practices in the county and his coterie of supporters cause him to act and be expected to act in a manner consistent

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[5] Jack J. Preiss, *Functions of Relevant Power and Authority Groups in the Evaluation of County Agent Performance,* Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Michigan State College, 1954), p. 236.

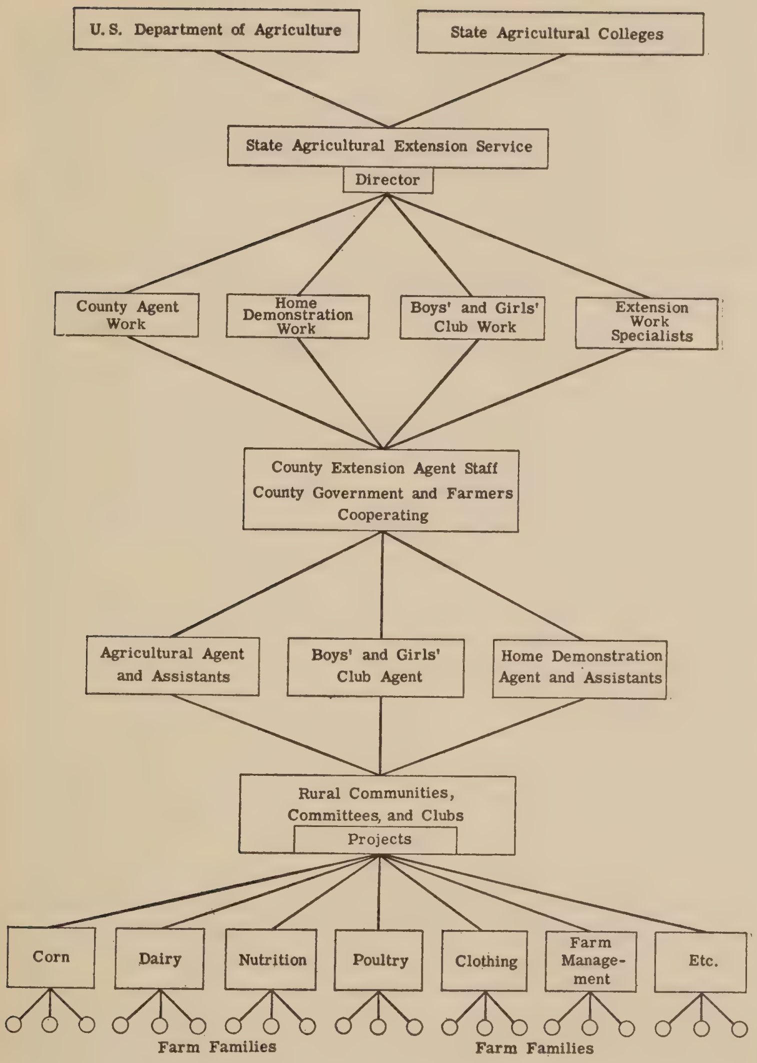
U. S. Department of Agriculture
State Agricultural Colleges
State Agricultural Extension Service
Director
County Agent Work
Home Demonstration Work
Boys' and Girls' Club Work
Extension Work Specialists
County Extension Agent Staff
County Government and Farmers Cooperating
Agricultural Agent and Assistants
Boys' and Girls' Club Agent
Home Demonstration Agent and Assistants
Rural Communities, Committees, and Clubs
Projects
Corn
Dairy
Nutrition
Poultry
Clothing
Farm Management
Etc.
Farm Families
Farm Families

Figure 38. Organizational Chart of the Agricultural Extension Service. (Source: Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 401.)

with his status-role as county agricultural agent. Because he has the responsibility for continually reinforcing the organization of the county, every program that relies upon rural organization sees in him a possible ally. The Red Cross in making rural collections in its finance drive, the county library in planning the location of its branches, the health service in disseminating information to the hinterland are all likely to want to rely upon him or upon the sub-organizations his agency has created to render assistance. Since the subject matter he and his staff deal with is the farm, the home, and the family, the agent's manner of life as well as that of his family is expected to reflect the best teachings of the Extension Service. Although he may have majored in some special field of agriculture, he no longer is a specialist when he becomes a county agent. While his love might be soil science, his practice must be shared among the dairy interest, farm management, and many other fields. He becomes the personification of scientific agricultural practices on the one hand, and an integrative rural organizer on the other.

Just as the county agent occupies a conspicuous status-role, the clientele of the Service is also likely to be more visible in the community than are members in most organizations. To the extent that the client is an innovator, he is watched by non-clients so that they may copy if the innovation is successful or laugh at the innovation if it fails. One farmer comments upon the county agent as follows:

> Well, a lot of people criticize him, but he knows what he's doing. They laugh at him sometimes, and at me for all the things I try, but I'll tell you, mister, if it wasn't for FH I wouldn't be on this farm today. The ones who gripe are the ones who just barely keep a-going. The progressive farmers are all behind him.[6]

Power, authority and influence. From the beginning, the Agricultural Extension Service has been a quasi-governmental organization, with stipulated relations to the United States Department of Agriculture. Each county Extension Service has its share of this authority. It is a branch of the State Extension

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Service in a Land Grant College and in turn is related to the Service in the United States Department of Agriculture. In each county there exists, of course, the legal authority of that county, the county governing body, and frequently a number of federal agricultural agencies carrying out directives from national headquarters on a county basis. The agent's ability to identify himself with sufficient of the power groups and to maintain satisfactory relations with the authority groups seem to determine the power he wields in doing an effective job.

Preiss'[7] analysis of county agent case histories shows that there is little local power inherent in the position of the county agent. The real power resides in the locally organized groups such as the Dairy Herd Improvement Association, the Artificial Insemination Association, the Farm Bureau, the Beet Growers Association, and so forth. The organizations with which extension agents work are indicated in Table 27.

TABLE 27

ORGANIZATIONS THAT EXTENSION AGENTS WORK WITH MOST IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR ADULTS

Organizations worked with	*Percentage of Agents Naming Specified Organizations*
Farm Organizations	96
Schools	90
Colleges and Universities	79
Women's Clubs	70
Federal and/or State Government Bureaus	69
Churches and Religious Organizations	66
Community Councils	57
Parent's Organizations	56
Elected or Appointed Government Bodies	46
Civic and Service Organizations	45
Welfare Councils	36
Libraries	36
Inter-Agency Councils	36
Patriotic and Veterans' Organizations	34
Fraternal Organizations	19
UNESCO Organizations	13

SOURCE: Joseph L. Matthews in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 68.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

According to Hardin's analysis, there has been "only one experiment station official (not a director) who challenged the college leadership in recent years, and he was promptly dismissed." This stands in sharp contrast to the Agricultural Extension Service. "In at least half-a-dozen states, on the other hand, Extension has been able to win or (more frequently) to prevent showdowns with the central administration."[8]

Social rank. Preiss' study of county agent performance reveals that the support of the local power groups is more important than carrying out assignments and the "proper relations" to superiors in attaining high rank in the state Extension system. A national study[9] of the ranking of occupations places the county agent in the top half of the ninety so ranked. He placed thirty-seventh. The occupations which rank immediately above and below him are the public school teacher, the railroad engineer, and the farm owner and operator. Functionally, this probably indicates that the county agent is approximately at the social level of the people with whom he works. "A few of the top farmers and leaders could meet FH as a status 'equal' and could feel that he depended upon their support fully as much as they depended on him,"[10] Preiss reports in one of his county case studies.

Various studies have demonstrated that although the contacts of the Extension Service personnel are broad, the frequency of contact and acquaintance with Service personnel are closely correlated with income and social rank.[11] Likewise, acquaintance with personnel and use of the Service is positively correlated with educational attainment and the extent of acculturation to

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[8] Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education, op. cit.*, p. 100.

[9] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation" in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949), p. 466.

[10] Preiss, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[11] For the studies supporting this generalization, see D. L. Gibson, "The Clientele of the Agricultural Extension Service," *Michigan AES Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (May, 1944); C. R. Hoffer, *Selected Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 331, 1944); and James West, *Plainville, U. S. A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 224.

American ways. Farmers between the ages of forty and sixty use the Service more than either older or younger farmers. The realities of social class to a large extent dictate the makeup of the county agent's clientele and pose great difficulties in the actual realization of the objective of reaching everyone.

Sanctions. The chief sanctions applied *to* the county agent come in the nature of rewards (higher salary and ranking) or penalties (increased inspection of work and possible dismissal) from the State Extension Service. The chief sanctions applied *by* the county agent are his to give or withhold chiefly insofar as he has allied himself with the power structure of his community. Preiss reports:

> He had several techniques for controlling membership on most boards. If he felt he wanted to remove a man in a leadership position, he "began asking questions about him" all over the county. He would drop hints that perhaps the marked individual "wasn't carrying out his job as well as he might." Eventually the man would find himself replaced by a new director. Conversely, if FH wanted to get a particular person "elected," he campaigned indirectly by describing the "best man" for the post without actually naming him. Pretty soon people got the idea who was being groomed for a job.[12]

It must be recognized, however, that a county agent who had not effectively worked himself into the local power groups would have very little effect in dealing out such sanctions.

Facilities. The agricultural experiment stations and the staff of subject-matter specialists must be regarded as sub-systems of a larger system. These are facilities for the county agent in his work in the county. Professional extension workers also have the assistance of about one million unpaid voluntary leaders who give an average of over two weeks each year to Extension work. The help of voluntary leaders, valued at a rate for unskilled labor, would exceed the amount of the entire 1950 budget. This budget is the largest of any adult educational organization, either public or private. Seventy-seven and one-fourth million dollars were appropriated for Extension work in 1951. In a sense, the demonstration situation provided by the individual client in a county also is a facility as well as other procedures and aids. The farm which first demonstrates crop rotation, a laminated barn roof, or a particular breeding practice is an important facility to the county agent as well as to the owner.

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[12] Preiss, *op. cit.,* pp. 170-171.

Territoriality. There are 3,107 county Extension services in the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska. It is the only adult education organization having a local unit in almost every county of the United States.[13] Territoriality is the factor which affects the work of the county agent in respect to the geographic area he covers as well as to the diversity of his projects. The county one mile square in Virginia with primarily tobacco production would be very different, for example, from the 20,000 square mile county in California encompassing desert grazing, intensive cultivation on irrigated land, and multiple crop raising in mountainous terrain.

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND EXTENSION WORK

Communication. It is one of the explicitly emphasized features of the Extension Service that it furnishes a channel of communication from rural people to the Land Grant Colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture, enabling them to organize their research, teaching, and extension activities to meet needs. As indicated in the discussion of power, communication in the Extension Service tends to be more personal than in many governmental organizations. Because the agent is usually located at considerable distance from the administrative center at the Land Grant College, each county office has considerable autonomy. The administrative center evaluates the work both from inspection by supervisors, from formal reports, and from informal reports from and contacts with the local organizations, especially the farm organizations in the respective counties.

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[13] Joseph L. Matthews, "The Cooperative Extension Service of the United States," in C. P. Loomis, *et al., Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: The Michigan State College Press, 1953).

Decision-making. The programs of few rural bureaucracies are as complete a blend of local needs expressed through the organizations of the people and of the over-all plans and policies as developed at the state level as are those of the Extension Service. As indicated in the discussion of power, the agents on the county level who articulate their activities and programs effectively with the powerful local social systems may ignore more frequently the decisions and directives from the state level than those who do not. Generally the county offices attempt to work with advisory groups, but the form of this type of linkage varies from state to state and within the states. In general, it may be stated that the most successful agents involve the relevant power groups in their decision-making at the local level.

Boundary maintenance. During and following the major depression, many new federal agencies were created which at one time or another threatened the Agricultural Extension Service and its chief supporting farm organization, the American Farm Bureau. "Under the early Agricultural Adjustment Administration program," for example, "a farmer would have to take some of his land out of wheat in order to qualify for a rehabilitation loan. But whether he took the land out of wheat or left it in wheat, it might blow away; therefore, the Soil Conservation Service might advise him to restore the land to grass. The Bureau of Plant Industry and State Experiment Station might be telling him not to plant wheat that year, because recent research showed that the crop would be a failure unless there was a certain amount of moisture in the soil at seeding time. Yet he could borrow the money for seed and, by attempting to grow some wheat, would qualify for a benefit payment on reduced acreage."[14] ". . . New and powerful Federal agencies were barging into almost every local community administering action programs that strongly affected local affairs and dealt with things which were far from being noncontroversial."[15] Not only were some of those competing local and federal agencies considered by the Agricultural Extension Service as threats to its existence and power, but the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the USDA which later was given the responsibility of integrating the programs through the device of county and state planning agencies was considered in many cases an even greater threat.

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[14] Milton S. Eisenhower and Roy I. Kimmel, "Old and New In Agricultural Organization," *1940 Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 1130.

How the conservative farmers' organizations and the Land Grant Colleges were able to eliminate these planning agencies, strengthen the Agricultural Extension Service and in many cases weaken or eliminate the threatening organizations is one of the best examples of boundary maintenance in American rural life. Thus, in 1953 the most powerful of the bureaus of the USDA, the Production and Marketing Administration (called the AAA until 1945) was abolished. Its major functions were divided among three agencies. Marketing was given to the new Agricultural Marketing Service which also absorbed many of the functions of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the agency which had earlier attempted to plan for the department and integrate its programs. Production control, storage, and related activities were given to the Commodity Stabilization Service. The Agricultural Conservation Program was given to the Federal-State Relations group of organizations. The more than 85,000 elected community committeemen who originally directed the program have lost their administrative functions and are now concerned only with policy. This once powerful committee system has been renamed the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation committee system.

In the struggle for primacy and social rank in rural America the Agricultural Extension Service has not been without its supporters. "The Farm Bureau has traditionally supported agricultural colleges and especially the Extension Services, seeking to augment their appropriations and to transfer programs into their hands."[16]

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 1131.

Social-cultural linkage. In the above discussion and in the case at the end of this chapter there is ample evidence of linkages between the Agricultural Extension Service and the other systems on all levels in the various states. To quote Hardin:

> Agricultural research and extension workers operate in relation to their clientele with an intimacy which is difficult for their more cloistered colleagues to understand. . . . Extension specialists from the state colleges find their local meetings blazoned in press headlines, and the county farm and home demonstration agents are continuously on the firing line. It would be hard to imagine a more striking contrast to the experience of the typical academician, whose influence works slowly (if at all!) through his library and study, his class rooms and publications, and perhaps enjoys a perceptible effect in a generation or so.[17]

BUREAUCRACY AND THE COMMUNITY

We have seen that the county agent tends to have Gemeinschaft-like relations with his clientele and his community whereas his relationship with his own bureaucratic organization is often more Gesellschaft-like. The strain on the individual who tries to meet the requirements of both the community and the bureaucratic organization was treated briefly under norms. Research on this question might reveal that functionaries working in bureaucratic organizations which do not require community participation for the success of their programs suffer less stress than do functionaries working in systems which require that the worker balance the requirements of his Gesellschaft-like employing organization with the Gemeinschaft-like requirements of families and communities. In a small way this represents a crucial problem of our age: How to relate Gesellschaft-like bureaucratic action which requires efficient service in all fields to Gemeinschaft-like families and communities. The Agricultural Extension Service is an agency for which local reference groups are extremely important and bureaucratic procedures emanating from administrative centers are relatively unimportant. This is particularly true in comparison with such agencies as the Forest Service and Soil Conservation Service.

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[16] Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education, op. cit.*, p. 29.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Each of the following services can be analyzed as a social system in a manner similar to that just employed in analyzing the Extension Service. Probably the major differences are variations in degree of decentralization and differences in power structure. The following agencies will be described with abbreviated analysis.

THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

The Soil Conservation Service, a bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture, gives assistance to farmers and ranchers chiefly through soil conservation districts which farmers and ranchers organize and operate under state laws. The Soil Conservation Service technicians help local individuals and groups in conservation, surveying, planning and application of suitable soil and water conserving practices on individual farms, watersheds, or other areas having common problems. The activities of the Soil Conservation Service are designed to prevent soil erosion, preserve natural resources, control floods, prevent destruction of reservoirs, maintain the navigability of rivers and harbors, and protect public health.

The Soil Conservation Service is a more centralized organization than the Cooperative Extension Service. The highest authority resides in the administrative offices in Washington. Next in importance are the state and area offices. Below the state level, there are 2,600 soil conservation districts covering about three-fourths of all the farm land in the United States. The district, rather than a county or "natural group," is the unit through which the technical and educational information of the Soil Conservation Service is channeled.

Linking bureaucracy to the people. Most conservation districts are large and encompass too many families for the limited number of conservationists to work on an individual basis. If the conservationists can gain group acceptance of their program, the sanctions, goals, and norms of such groups often govern individual action in conservation work. The Soil Conservation Service has directed its employees to use the "group approach." Since most conservationists have had little acquaintance with social science, the instructions from the regional offices and Washington are general and often phrased in lay rather than social science terminology. To quote from one pamphlet: "If there is to be any 'big shot' it should be the local neighborhood leader and just to the extent that his followers make it so."[18] The Conservation Service developed the use of "neighborhood leader" and "neighborhood" in a sense not to be confused with the manner in which these terms are used by the authors. What Soil Conservation Service officials mean by "neighborhood," is what rural sociologists call "informal," "friendship," "mutual-aid," or "clique" groups. For the Soil Conservation Service, the neighbor group is limited in number, not over fifteen or twenty, living in close proximity to one another and bound together by mutual likes and interests. The so-called "neighbor-group leaders" are those looked to for advice, and who, if they try something, are most likely to be copied by their neighbors.

Longmore has described the procedures used by the Soil Conservation Service personnel in locating natural groups and leaders as follows:

1. Consult with several over-all district, or county-wide, leaders to secure the names of the most important community leaders.
2. Talk to these community leaders and gather all information possible about neighbor groups and their leaders.
3. Using the names secured in this manner, talk to enough people in each neighbor group to verify the membership of the group and determine as positively as possible who the leader or leaders are.

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[18] *Group Action in Soil Conservation: Upper Mississippi Valley, Region III* (Milwaukee: United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service; March, 1947).

4. Consult with the leader and check with him as to the membership of the group. Let him decide where borderline cases fit. Likewise, find out from him whom he considers to be the real community leaders.
5. With the leader determine the group's interest and understanding of soil conservation. Plan with him the course of action to be taken with the group to move them along in soil conservation work.
6. Call on the community and over-all leaders to encourage and assist the neighbor group leaders.[19]

Training SCS personnel in these methods, according to Longmore, began in 1947, and practically all work unit and area conservationists have now been taught these principles and techniques. In January 1951, 32,914 neighbor-groups, including 284,025 farmers and ranchers, have been formed. Of this total, 23,549 neighbor-groups have carried on activities in planning and application of soil conservation practices.[20] "At the end of 1952, the SCS had 11,584 employees, and by then, the SCS had given technical assistance to some 1,250,000 farmers in about 2,500 soil conservation districts."[21]

THE FARMERS' HOME ADMINISTRATION

Historically, the Farmers' Home Administration, established in 1946, stems from the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration, both of which appeared in the depression years of the 1930's. The latter agencies sponsored such action programs as those involving experiments in the establishment of communities, collective farming, group medicine, tenant purchase programs, and family rehabilitation. The FHA offers credit services to farm families unable to borrow on reasonable terms from other agencies. Loans are made for farm operation, for building or repairing farm structures, for purchase of family-type farms or developing uneconomic farms, and for water facilities in all states.[22]

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[19] T. Wilson Longmore, "Special Agencies Within the Department of Agriculture," in Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[21] Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education*, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

According to FHA statistical records,[23] there were approximately 157,000 active farm operating, farm owning, and farm housing borrowers as of November 30, 1951. This number represented nearly three percent of all farms in that year. The proportion of borrowers was higher in the West and South than in other areas of the country.

Although the FHA program is centralized in Washington, most loan-making authority is delegated to field offices. Farmers make contacts with the agency through county supervisors and each county FHA office is advised on loans by a local committee of three persons, at least two of whom are farmers.

The developing of the supervised farm and loan plan and working with families as units are perhaps the most significant contributions to program administration made by the FHA. FHA supervisors not only lend moneys but they provide skilled advice. In general, the FHA planning and supervision takes the following form:

1. Long-range farm and home plan is developed by the farm family with the aid of the county FHA supervisor, showing cropping system, farm practices, health and sanitation, garden, canning, housing, clothing, surroundings, and education.
2. Annual farm and home plans are developed with the aid of the FHA supervisor covering details with respect to specific undertakings and with respect to the management of financial affairs which it is impractical to incorporate in a long-time plan.
3. The farm family keeps accounts in FHA family record books.
4. The FHA supervisor visits farms of borrowers during the year to confer and advise with farmers about cropping systems, rotations, varieties, fertilizer applications, pest control, livestock management, and the like.
5. County supervisor meets with the borrower for annual checkout, involving an examination of the borrower's family record book

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[22] Authorized by the Farmers' Home Administration Act of 1946, the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937, the Housing Act of 1949, and the Water Facilities Act of 1937.

[23] Cited by Longmore, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

> for completeness and accuracy, analyzing the year's business, and completing farm and home plans for the coming year. . . .[24]

Operating loans for purchase of equipment, feed, seed, fertilizer, livestock, and other farming needs are made to help small farmers. Such loans may not exceed $7,000 initially and may not exceed $10,000 in total. The repayment period is from one to seven years. Farm Ownership loans are made to help farmers buy, enlarge, develop, or improve family-type farms. Such loans are to be amortized for periods not to exceed forty years but can be repaid earlier. In designated areas, emergency loans can be made to enable farmers to continue operation. Special livestock loans are made to help livestock farmers maintain their normal livestock operations. These loans are repaid in one to three years.

> By 1946 the tenant purchase program had made loans to 39,000 families. But the rural rehabilitation program had reached about 1,000,000 farm families. These were families that could not get credit from any other source, public or private. . . .[25]

THE FOREST SERVICE

As indicated by Figure 39 the major forested areas which cover one-third of the land area of the United States fall outside of the Corn Belt, Wheat Areas, and the eastern portions of the Range Livestock Areas. Foresters who have been reared and trained in one area, during their careers with the Forest Service, may work in totally different social and cultural regions. In the Forest Service, as in other bureaucracies, personnel are frequently transferred from one region to another to develop executives who will know over-all problems. In college and on-the-job training, more attention is given than formerly to the people living in the forested areas covering 624,000,000 acres,

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

[25] Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education, op. cit.*, p. 16.

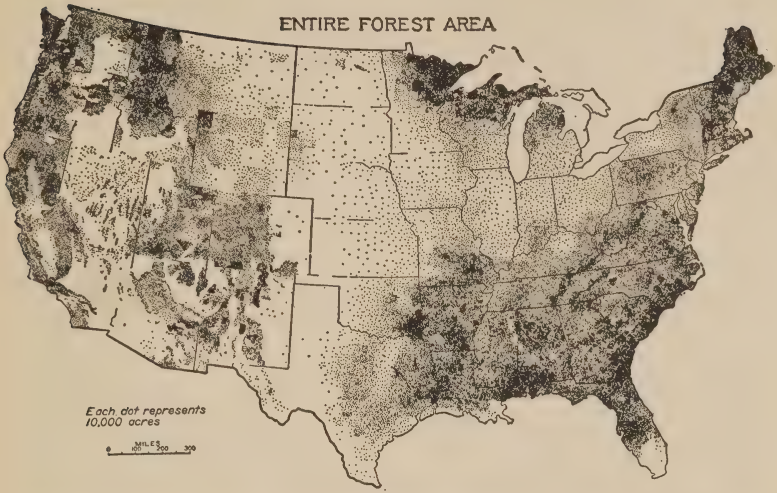

Figure 39. Distribution of Forests in the United States. (Source: *New Forest Frontiers,* Forest Service Misc. Pub. No. 414, p. 8.)

of which 461,000,000 acres is considered commercial lands. The nation's forest resources furnish support directly to more than one and a half million persons.[26]

Of special interest to rural sociologists are the 3,113 community forests, covering nearly four and a half million acres. Such forests are reminiscent of the thousands of community forests of Europe which are vestiges of cooperative village systems.[27]

Fires burn some 41,000,000 acres of timber annually, and most of the fires are man-set, many purposely.[28] Approximately $33,000,000 was spent in 1951 for fire control on state and private forest lands. Since the management of the forests and the ranges they cover must be carried on by residents in them, it is obvious that foresters must deal with human problems of the first magnitude.

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[26] Estimate by Dr. Lee M. James, Assistant Professor of Forestry, Michigan State University. See also "Forestry," *Yearbook of Agriculture 1937* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 86.

[27] "Community Forests," by George A. Duthie in *Yearbook of Agriculture 1949* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 394, and Nelson C. Brown, *Community Forest* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1939), pp. 3-4.

[28] "Forestry and Economic Recovery," *Yearbook of Agriculture 1936* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 56.

THE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

The Rural Electrification Administration, established in 1935, serves the following functions: (1) to administer loans for rural electrification facilities and (2) to administer loans for extension and improvement of rural telephone service. At the time of the establishment of the REA, only 10 per cent of American farmers had central-station electrical service as compared with 95 per cent in France, and 85 per cent in Denmark.[29] Since 1935, rural electrification in the United States has been rapid. According to census reports, 77.7 per cent of rural-farm structures in the United States had electric lights in 1950.

The basic local unit of the REA is the REA cooperative association. In 1952, the REA had loaned approximately $2,500,000,000 to borrowers and had electrified 1,200,000 miles of line serving 3,800,000 consumers.[30] At present, approximately half of the farms with electricity are served by REA cooperatives. There are slightly more than 1,000 borrowers, 95 per cent of which are locally-owned, member-controlled cooperatives organized under state laws. Loans are made on a maximum of a thirty-five year amortization basis, with interest at two percent.

RURAL SOCIAL WELFARE AND SECURITY

Prior to recent years, the care of helpless and dependent persons in rural areas was the responsibility of the family and neighbors. Our present public welfare programs, based upon

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[29] "Rural Electrification," *Yearbook of Agriculture 1940* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 790.

[30] Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education, op. cit.*, p. 16.

English law, are new. This is true in spite of the fact that the principle of public responsibility for dependent persons has been an accepted legal principle for at least three generations. Some argue that this principle dates from the Statute of Laborers decree enunciated by King Edward III in 1349.[31]

Welfare planning and services made their initial advances in the urban areas, and, even today, the image of the social work profession is urban-centered. In virtually all respects, public welfare services in rural areas have lagged behind those in the cities. "Some inroads were made in rural areas," Miles says, "but by 1925 comparatively little progress had been made. In that year . . . public welfare had still left the rural areas untouched . . ."[32] The town rather than the county was most often responsible for the administration of relief, and private services were concerned almost exclusively with city problems. The depression years of the 1930's brought public welfare service to the rural people for the first time. The most extensive programs of public welfare, available to both rural and urban residents, are those involving federal-state assistance.

Public assistance. The public assistance program, established by the Social Security Act of 1935, is based upon need and is administered at the local level by county bureaus of social aid. Three types of programs were outlined in the original Act, namely, assistance to the needy aged, assistance to dependent children, and assistance to the needy blind. In 1950, a fourth program, assistance to the permanently and totally disabled, was added.

Figure 40 shows the number of recipients and amount of payment for public assistance in the U.S. from 1944 to 1953. Data concerning rural and urban areas separately are difficult to secure. However, a study published by the Social Security Administration of rural counties[33] is suggestive. In the non-metro-

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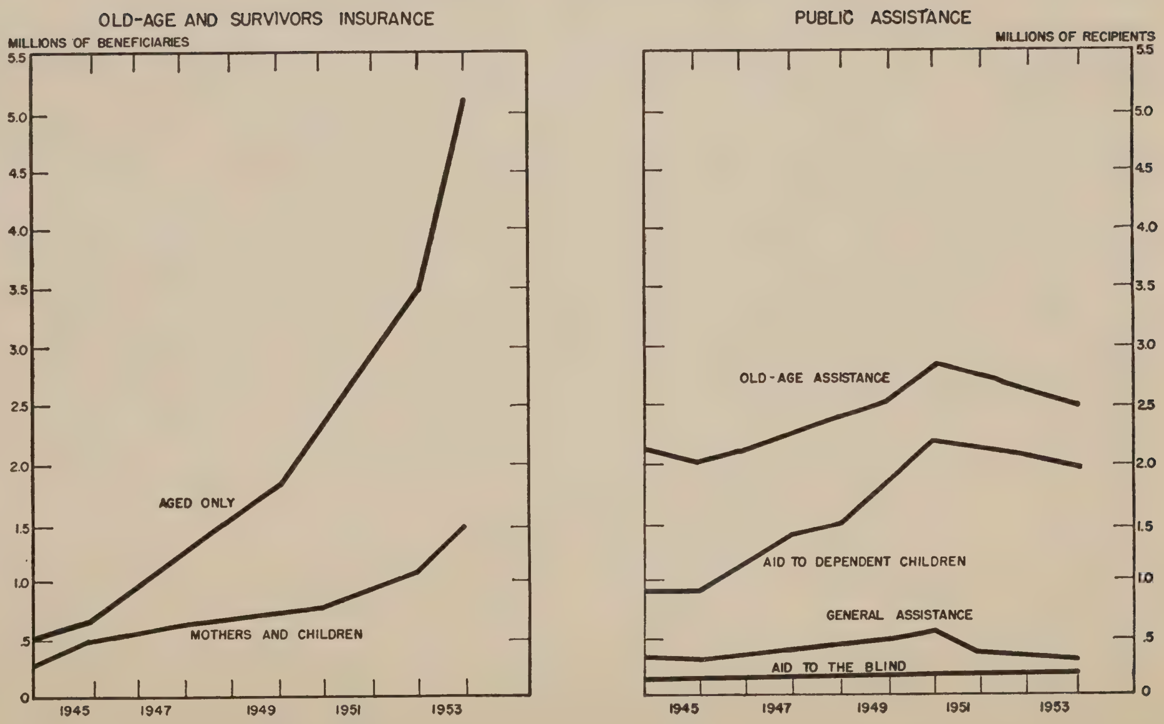
[31] Arthur P. Miles, *An Introduction to Public Welfare* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949), p. 15.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[33] Benson Y. Landis, "Rural Social Programs," in *Social Work Yearbook 1954* (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1954), pp. 457-458.



INDIVIDUALS RECEIVING PAYMENTS

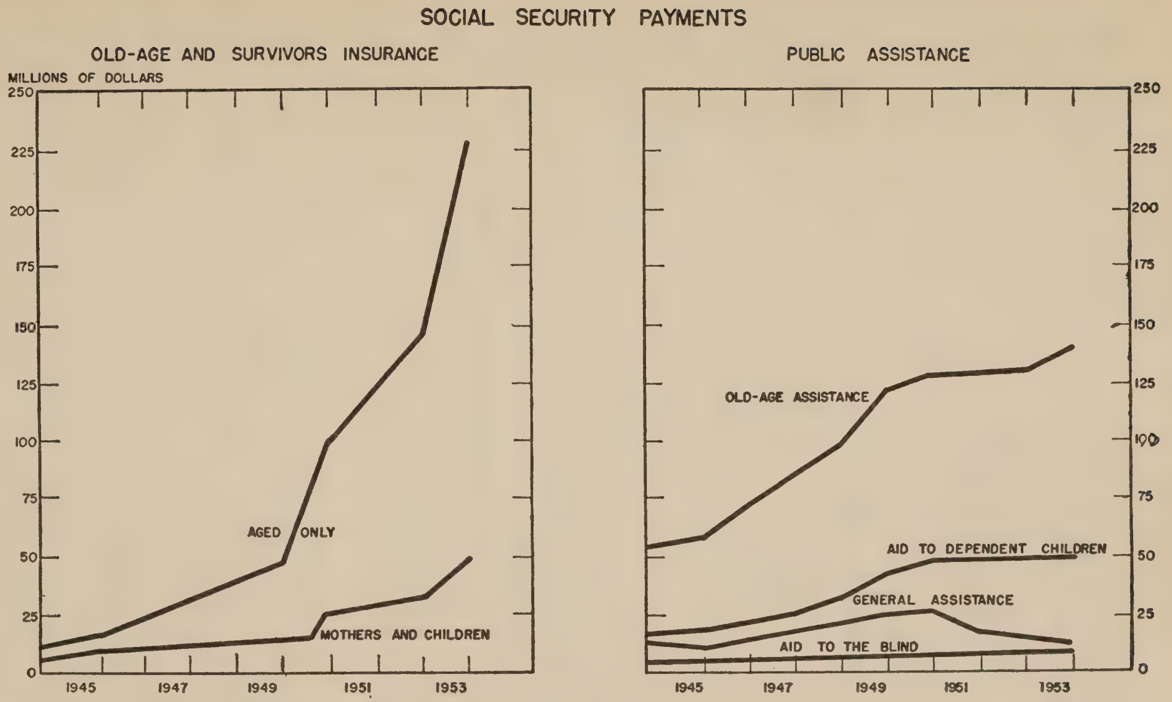


Figure 40. Number of Recipients and Amount of Social Security Payments, 1944-1953. (Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954, p. 256.)

politan "rural" counties, 238 aged persons per 1,000 received assistance; in counties within metropolitan districts having less than 500,000, 197 aged persons per 1,000 received assistance; and in counties within metropolitan districts having 500,000 or more, 160 aged persons per 1,000 received assistance. The absence of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance in the farm population was given as an explanation for the larger percentage in need in rural counties.

Old Age and Survivors' Insurance. The Old Age and Survivors' Insurance program is a family group-insurance plan operated by the Federal government to which individuals contribute. Prior to the 1950 amendments of the Social Security Act, farmers could qualify for this insurance only by working off the farm. The 1950 revisions extended coverage to approximately 850,000 agricultural workers. In general, "regular" farm managers and farm and household workers were covered in this amendment, while farm owners and tenants as well as most migrant workers were excluded.[34] The number of individuals covered and the Old Age and Survivors' Insurance payments made, primarily to nonfarm persons, are shown in Figure 40.

Amendments to the Social Security Law in 1954 extended coverage to many groups of farmers not previously eligible and their families. The new law has two major provisions affecting farm people: (1) farmers with a net farm profit of $400 or more a year will now have Old Age and Survivors' Insurance protection; and (2) all farm workers who earn as much as $100 cash pay in a year from any one farmer come under the protection of the law.[35] Farm workers employed regularly for one farm operator were covered by a previous amendment.

The impact of this extensive insurance coverage upon the farm population is not yet evident. Benefits under this program most certainly will make it possible for the farmer to transfer the farm at an earlier time, and it will make it possible for the farmer to retire definitely from farming. The measure of financial security afforded by the program may serve to permit sons to take over farms at an earlier time, thus permitting them to remain in agriculture. The farmer himself may avoid the unhappy circumstances in which he must attempt to farm long after his physical and mental energies have been expended. It would also seem probable that the retired farmer may enjoy elevated social rank and power in the community. Whether or not larger proportions of farmers will retire in the local community or migrate to towns and cities, or to other parts of the country, is conjectural. Regardless of the precise form of the impact of the OASI program, the American farmer and his family have never previously had an equivalent measure of financial security.

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 458 and E. B. Hill, "Social Security for Farm Workers" (East Lansing: Michigan Cooperative Extension Folder F-155, 1951).

[35] E. B. Hill, "Social Security for Farm Families" (East Lansing: Michigan Cooperative Extension Folder F-189, 1955).

Child welfare services. The Social Security Act of 1935 authorized federal-state services related to child welfare. The federal grant of $10,000,000 in 1950 was intended for programs in "areas predominantly rural and other sections in special need."[36] Landis reported that in 1953 more than half of the counties in the United States had the services of a professional child welfare worker. The function of these county workers includes foster-home placement, delinquency prevention, care of illegitimate children, and cooperation with schools and courts in the handling of children's cases.

The Federal government also grants moneys to states for programs in maternal and child health as well as programs for the benefit of crippled children. Most of the maternal and child health programs are provided by state and local health departments, with the aid of federal funds, to promote health. Services such as public health nursing, well-baby clinics, and immunization are among the more familiar programs. The Federal government authorized $16,500,000 per year for maternal and child health, and $15,000,000 per year for services to crippled children.[37]

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[36] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

The Professional social worker. Among the emergent professions in America, that of social work is of special note. Although its roots can be traced to Colonial times, social work did not begin to gain professional status until the 1920's. The depression of the 1930's and the Social Security Act of 1935 added impetus to the field of social work in the process of professionalization. As evidence of professionalization, one need only point to firmly established areas of specialization within the field as well as educational requirements.

It is estimated that between 90,000 and 100,000 persons held social work jobs in 1950. A Bureau of Labor Statistics tabulation revealed that two-thirds of the social workers reporting were college graduates and that about half had some graduate work. About one-sixth reported two or more years of study in one of the sixty graduate schools of social work. With respect to employment, 62 per cent of the nation's social workers are employed by state, county, and local governments; 35 per cent by private agencies; and 3 per cent by the federal government.[38]

In his characterization of the social work profession, Nelson indicates that it is an urban profession (85 per cent residing in cities) and women constitute a majority (the ratio being three to two). Nelson finds urban states and metropolitan centers to be better supplied with social workers than the rural areas.[39] The Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of 1950 in general confirms these findings. However, this study reported 70 per cent of all social workers to be women, with an increasing proportion of men in evidence since World War II. Furthermore, the ratio of social workers to population is greater in the North than in the South, greater in the East than in the West, and greater in cities than in the rural areas.[40]

Although no fundamental difference exists in the preparation for or practice of welfare work in rural areas, some specialists

[38] Clyde E. Murray, "Social Work as a Profession," in *Social Work Yearbook 1954*, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

[39] Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1949), pp. 483-485.

[40] Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 508-509.

are well aware of the need for special knowledge and techniques. Speaking of the rural child welfare worker, Fredericksen says:

> She need not have the knowledge of an expert in agriculture, but she should have an understanding of the people who farm and of those who live in rural villages. She should know the rural school program. . . . She should know the extent of child labor, the composition of the population—ethnic and racial groups. . . . Her contact with people in a rural community is much closer than it is in the city. The people among whom she works will seek to know her as a person. They will want to know who she is, where she was born, and how she was raised, and unless they accept her, they will probably not accept the work she represents, no matter how well qualified she is professionally.[41]

HOME DEMONSTRATION WORK AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

The following case is introduced to illustrate the problems which change agents may encounter in rural areas. Early in the spring of 1947 the Home Demonstration Agent of Smith County, Michigan, attempted to organize a Home Demonstration Club in Bayone Township. In a county noted for the spectacular growth of its Home Demonstration program, Bayone Township was outstanding for its lack of participation.

PLEASANT CORNERS[42]

Located in Bayone Township is the small neighborhood of Pleasant Corners, consisting of some thirty families. The nucleus of Pleasant Corners is a Fundamentalist church, established late in the nineteenth century, the majority of whose members come from the old, traditional families in Pleasant Corners.

Three networks of human relationships exist in Pleasant Corners. One network consists of old families of long residence in the area who are closely affiliated with Pleasant Church. The second, connected to the first by ties of kinship, consists of those families of long residence many of whom are younger and not affiliated with the church. The third is composed of those families who are relative newcomers to the neighborhood, many of whom are "fringe" residents. . . . [*These networks are described in Figure 41.*]

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[41] Hazel Fredericksen, *The Child and his Welfare* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1948), pp. 268-269.

[42] Condensed by Elizabeth Williams Nall from an unpublished manuscript entitled *Pleasant Corners: A Case of Failure at the Crossroads* by Paul A. Miller, Charles P. Loomis, and Francis M. Sim, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University.

The families closely affiliated with Pleasant Church believe that it is the most important basis of life in the local neighborhood. Supported by church belief and doctrine, members of the church insist

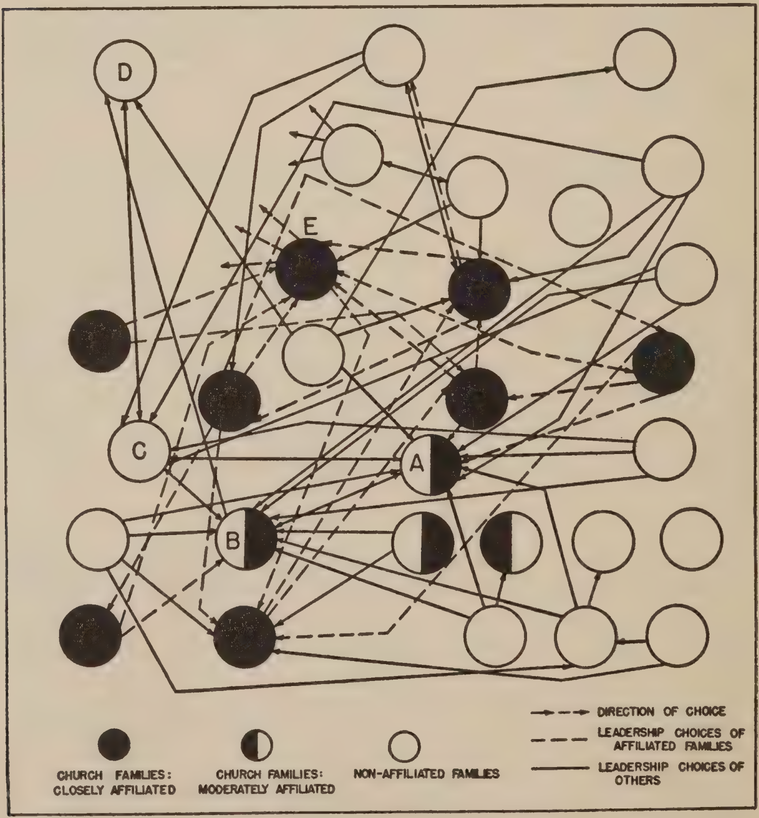
D
E
C
A
B
DIRECTION OF CHOICE
LEADERSHIP CHOICES OF AFFILIATED FAMILIES
LEADERSHIP CHOICES OF OTHERS
CHURCH FAMILIES: CLOSELY AFFILIATED
CHURCH FAMILIES: MODERATELY AFFILIATED
NON-AFFILIATED FAMILIES

Figure 41. Leadership and Interaction in Pleasant Corners, Michigan. The circles represent farmsteads in appropriate geographical location. (Source: P. A. Miller and J. A. Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan,* East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, 1947, p. 35.)

that the church and its sub-groups be maintained as solely religious organizations. Church members are encouraged by church policy to participate actively in secular affairs, but they do so as individuals and not as members or officials of the church.

Those families of long residence not affiliated with the church are typically second generation members of older church affiliated families, linked to the first group by ties of kinship. Examples of this are Mr. A and Mrs. B, brother and sister, both of whom do not actively participate in the local church and whose interests are oriented away from the neighborhood. They are bound to the church affiliated group, however, for their 80-year-old mother has been all her life a pillar in Pleasant Church.

Those families who have more recently arrived in the neighborhood have in general moved out from nearby cities and continue to work in those cities. Thus their interest in the neighborhood is of a different nature. Such families commonly express their concern over the existing blockage in gaining access to affairs of the neighborhood. One wife reported, "This is the awfullest place to get acquainted in that I have ever seen, and it is the churchiest place that you could find." Another reported, "Rural communities are really more selfish than those in the city. The people around here will laugh when some of us new ones do something wrong, but you don't see them jumping over the fence to help you." The older families likewise indicated that newcomers had difficulty in entering the affairs of Pleasant Corners. One woman remarked, "It is just like some women who are sometimes too quick to buy a new broom for an old one. We like to take our time in seeing how newcomers behave before we go and make ourselves known."

Another factor relevant for this case study is the existence of a Ladies' Service Society affiliated with the Church. In existence for sixty years, the Society is composed of some twenty members and has the manifest function of serving the "needy" of the neighborhood. The president, Mrs. E, has been a member for 57 years, and several other members have belonged for over half a century. The mother of Mrs. B was a charter member. Mrs. B herself, however, is not active in the Society, remarking, "One reason why I don't like to go up to the Ladies' Service Society is because they won't gossip. Now in the Club (another Home Demonstration Club) that I belonged to, when someone had it coming, we really took them apart."

The strategy used by the Home Demonstration Agent, the change agent in this case, in attempting to organize the new Club was to persuade Mrs. B and Mrs. E to form the nucleus of it. Mrs. B is the wife of an outstanding farmer in the neighborhood and exerts a great deal of influence among the women of the neighborhood. Presumably she would provide excellent leadership for the new Club and would attract other women to join. Mrs. E was noted for her active work in the church, serving as Sunday School superintendent as well as president of the Ladies' Service Society.

Technically, Mrs. B did not meet the resident requirements, for she lived just south of the township line in Comstock Township. She already belonged to a Home Demonstration Club in Comstock Township but was persuaded to transfer her membership to the new club.

The Home Demonstration Agent proceeded to contact other prospective members for the new Club, attempting to demonstrate the need for a Home Demonstration Club in Bayone Township. As a result, ten women living in or near Pleasant Corners agreed to attend the meetings. The new Club was duly formed and Mrs. B was elected secretary. Two meetings were held and the Home Demonstration Agent was encouraged by the manifest interest of the ten members. After the third meeting, however, Mrs. B informed the Home Demonstration Agent that the group wished to disband. The decision had been made without consulting the Home Demonstration Agent and came as a great surprise to her. When she attempted to ascertain the reason lying back of the decision, she was given the cryptic response, "We did not take into account what was to the north of us."

Thus this is a case of an unsuccessful social-cultural linkage of the system of the Cooperative Extension Service with that of the neighborhood of Pleasant Corners. Within each system involved in the attempted linkage various primary elements were operative. Within the target system of the neighborhood were the following sub-systems: the church group, those of long residence who although not affiliated with the church were related by kinship to its members, and the more nebulous grouping of the newcomers. Each may be described in terms of (1) ends or objectives, (2) norms, (3) status-roles, (4) power, involving both authority and influence, (5) social rank, (6) sanctions, (7) facilities, and (8) territoriality. Insofar as the embryonic Home Demonstration Club was operative, it had these components. In this analysis these elements will be discussed in relation to the social-cultural linkage being attempted.

Ends and objectives. In attempting to introduce the Home Demonstration Club into the neighborhood of Pleasant Corners the Agent here, as elsewhere, stressed improved homemaking as the objective. Although the manifest objective in most demonstration clubs is improved homemaking, also important are such latent objectives on the part of members as visiting, exchanging experiences, enjoying the favorable self-images or feelings of personal warmth resulting from interaction among those who are mutually known and respected, and even of opportunity for upward social mobility. Such organizations often serve an integrative function in the neighborhood.

The Home Demonstration Agent's ends were in line with those of her agency, the Cooperative Extension Service. The church group, however, was already engaged in "quilting," which some members thought to be not unlike the objective of the Home Demonstration Club. Moreover, the group placed religious objectives above all else. They were more interested in retaining the traditional way of life than in introducing improved home practices, that is, their objective was the retaining of the *status quo*. The other older people in the community who were not church members were committed to the church group's ends by kinship ties. Although they would not actively support the religious objectives of the church group, they would not oppose them. They valued neighborhood solidarity and would rather support the church group than align themselves with the newcomers.

Norms. The church group was accustomed to meetings which were permeated with religious ritual not altogether approved by the newcomers or the Home Demonstration Agent. Although those in the church would not oppose the introduction of improved home practices, most believed the church was the agency which should influence the home. The church way was the "right way and for them the only way." They definitely opposed having an outside agency taking over activities of the church. Again many of the older non-church members would not support the church view but neither would they oppose it. The newcomers would probably be willing to oppose the church and some might be interested in Home Demonstration work, but they were not organized.

Status-Roles. The status-roles most significantly involved in the attempted social-cultural linkage being described were those of the Home Demonstration Agent and the leaders, Mrs. B and Mrs. E. Had the organization of the Home Demonstration Club been a success, all of these roles and others would have been articulated into a new social system. The status-role of the Home Demonstration Agent would have in many ways become a part of the neighborhood and its systems. However, during the time the embryonic club existed, the Home Demonstration Agent was regarded as an outsider who was bringing in an activity which, if not competing, was unnecessary. She was no doubt regarded by some of the older non-church members as one who might bring a cleavage in the neighborhood. Mrs. E, functioning in her capacity as leader of the church group, played the role of one interested in the good of the neighborhood but so devoted to her church that she could not have a functional role in the new organization. Mrs. B, functioning as a leader of the older non-church women, was so much linked by kinship to the church group and by affiliation to another Home Demonstration Club, that she decided that the Home Demonstration Club for Bayone Township was not necessary. Thus, her leadership role referred to the neighborhood and not to the new organization. All three principals, the Home Demonstration Agent, Mrs. E, and Mrs. B, played their roles with reference to the social systems to which they owed their primary loyalty, and the new social system, the Home Demonstration Club of Bayone Township, never came into being.

Power. In terms of influence, the four leader families, A, B, C, and E are central in the neighborhood. In terms of authority, exercised on the local level, both Mrs. E, representing the church group in the three meetings of the Club, and the Home Demonstration Agent were the chief actors. Since boundary maintenance efforts of the church group placed Mrs. E in a position which would not allow her to give firm support to the Club, and since Mrs. B had strong ties by kinship to the church group, the Home Demonstration Agent obviously did not have the basis for articulating the power structure of the community with the organization of the Club.

Social Rank. It is important that all the women of high rank in the neighborhood are older people. The manifest objective of the Home Demonstration Club did not appeal sufficiently to these older people who had already established the groups from which they derived the social satisfactions which constitute the latent functions of such groups as the Ladies' Service Society and the Home Demonstration Club.

Sanctions. Those sanctions which are usually operative were not available for the Home Demonstration Agent to invoke during the three meetings of the new Club's existence. In other clubs she had organized, members saw in the early meetings the possibility of learning improved homemaking practices, of making important contacts in the county seat, of achieving prestige and rank among the people whom they respected. The members of the Ladies' Service Society, engaged in quilting and similar activities, were deriving rewards from their membership in this organization. Also, certain *facilities* such as booklets, visual aids, and workshops for leaders which could help a club attain its objectives were not used by the new Club. Nor were any negative sanctions operating. Even such a mild penalty as anxiety about possibly disappointing the Agent was not available. Neither the Home Demonstration Agent nor any of the members of the county or state Cooperative Extension staffs were well enough known by the principals to make this possible.

Territoriality. The considerations of spatial relations were quite important in this case, as they frequently are in other attempts to organize social systems. In general, the basic ecological pattern of Home Demonstration Clubs is one club for one area. Thus, in this case, one club was planned for women of all ages, all social ranks or classes, and all types of religious orientation and affiliation. This meant that a larger area could not be used in order to obtain membership support of separate clubs for the church people, the older non-church people, and the newcomers. Neither could there be provision for the younger and older women or other groupings to meet separately.

There were other complications of a spatial nature. The neighborhood consisting of approximately 30 families which the Home Demonstration Agent attempted to make the center of the Bayone Township Home Demonstration Club was bisected by a township line. Thus Mrs. B said at a time considerably after the disbanding of the Club, "It makes a lot of difference around here whether you are in Bayone or Comstock Township. I don't have anything against those people, but I have never wanted them to get credit for contributions that I make—I want my own township to get the credit."

Social-cultural linkage was not established because the *boundary maintenance* mechanisms of the existing systems functioned so that the leaders involved made unfavorable decisions for such action. Pleasant Corners was not only an operative social system but it likewise was the target system for the Cooperative Extension Service. The basic problem involved in the present instance of attempted change and social-cultural linkage was that of the persistence of Pleasant Corners in maintaining itself as a social system, against both the complications of three internal sub-systems and of external change systems, such as the Cooperative Extension Service.

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13

Library and Mass Media Systems

THE AGENCIES DESCRIBED IN THIS CHAPTER ARE, on one hand, among the major channels of communication through which any social system reaches rural people in the more advanced societies. On the other hand, each channel of communication possesses systemic attributes and may be analyzed from this point of view. In the following pages we will treat the public library as a social system whose chief function is that of disseminating various forms of mass media. The mass media themselves will be treated primarily as means utilized by other systems in communicating with rural people.

While the public library, as a social system, may be extremely Gemeinschaft-like, the mass media of communication are impersonal and Gesellschaft-like. The mass media include all means of communication in which the initiator of symbolic expression is separated from the recipients by some artificial mechanism or by time and space. Hence, they are impersonal in that they lack the face-to-face contact of persons in group discussion, of the public speaker, or of the legitimate stage.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Throughout the country, libraries range from Gemeinschaft-like to Gesellschaft-like in their characteristics. The county librarian who reads book reviews and does some of her book ordering with specific readers in mind, or the small-city librarian who calls the attention of the local garden club to some new books on gardening, are rendering Gemeinschaft-like service. The reader's adviser in a large city library who interviews her clients and builds booklists in accord with her findings is also acting in a Gemeinschaft-like way. On the other hand, a patron who selects his own books and stands in line to have them charged, and the telephone patron who requests the name of a regional manufacturer undoubtedly feel anonymous and the relationship to the library is more Gesellschaft-like.

Some libraries are functionally oriented, organized to do a job to meet the needs of the community. Others are less task oriented and exist to fill a vague need of the community to possess something considered "cultural." The dual nature of the library as an institution, as well as something of its objectives, is revealed in the following quotation taken from a nationwide study of libraries by a group of social scientists:

> Libraries of all kinds during the centuries of their existence have had a common objective—one so generally accepted that it is seldom made explicit. It is the conservation and organization of the world's resources of recorded thought and fact so as to make them available for present and future users. This is an obvious utility for any civilization as soon as it feels the need for something more than oral tradition. And the library, including the public library, has become in most places a kind of symbol as well as servant of culture.[1]

The typing of the library as a symbol of "culture" on the one hand, and as a servant of "culture" on the other, precludes many generalizations which would be descriptive of all public libraries. Since it is the service-oriented library that more nearly fulfills the objectives treated in the following paragraphs, it will receive emphasis throughout the chapter.

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[1] Robert D. Leigh, *The Public Library in the United States: The General Report of the Public Library Inquiry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 12.

Objectives. The authors of the Public Library Inquiry approached the statement of the library's ends and objectives by three routes. The first is the librarians' traditional sense of purpose. Second is a synthesis of objectives as promulgated by official library leadership, and third is "a survey of the whole contemporary machinery of public communication, in order to see what role the public library might most appropriately play in the light of what is being done by other agencies."[2]

> These objectives are *to serve the community as a general center of reliable information and to provide opportunity and encouragement for people of all ages to educate themselves continuously.* And the functions for the public library agreed upon as the means of working toward the objectives are *to assemble, preserve, organize, and administer collections of books and other materials possessing cultural, educational, and informational value and to promote the public's use of library materials by active stimulation and skilled guidance.*[3]

Norms. The operation of normative patterns among librarians is nowhere more evident than in the task of book selection. The small library with a limited book budget, selects a few books from the enormous mass of available material. The dilemma of catering to popular taste with mysteries, westerns, and best-sellers or buying provocative, thoughtful, and enduring books is always with the librarian. The large library with a sizeable book budget is actually more concerned with book rejection than with book selection. All the titles that are useful can be bought without any question. What books will be rejected for purchase and on what grounds is the problem of the professional librarian in this instance.

Regardless of what books are purchased, as pointed out by Leigh in the following passage, some segment of the public is likely to have objections:

> There were cases in which local economic groups resented the library's acquisition of books which criticize the economic status quo.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

On the other side, there were reports of protests by leftist groups against the purchase of writings in defense of the status quo or attacking communism. In some communities, the library was denounced by professional vestal virgins for harboring books which discussed, honestly or otherwise, the serious modern problems of sex, adultery, divorce, and perversion. On the other hand, librarians were importuned by cultist groups to display tracts parading their fanatical views. There were also reported pressures from those who thought that the public library's possession of books by Russian communists about Russia meant that the librarian was a communist rather than a patriotic citizen attempting to further an understanding of the mentality and the aims of one of the two great powers in the contemporary world.[4]

It may be said that professional librarians generally attempt to be impartial in ordering books on social issues. They usually try to have several sides of a question represented, and a book on a socially significant theme is ordinarily ordered even though there may be repercussions. Librarians usually try to avoid weighting a collection along a particular interest. It is possible to find collections with an unduly heavy representation of art, history, religion, or even books by a particular author. This is evidence, of course, of particularistic buying, a response to the interest of a vocal board member, patron, or other interest group. The universalistic principles of the professionally trained librarian demand that the interests of all patrons be considered impartially, insofar as they fall within the objectives of the library.

Another normative consideration faced by some librarians is the exclusion of certain groups from using the library. One of the best examples is the low rate of library use on the part of Negroes. Also, those whose residence is not within the political unit which supports the library may not be able to use it. How much to overlook this entirely, how hard to press a payment in lieu of taxes from the political unit of the non-residents, and how best to work on a library plan which could give over-all coverage are normative questions for the librarian.

Many librarians are concerned about that part of their objective that has to do with promoting library use through "active stimulation and skilled guidance." Many librarians try public forums and community discussion groups. Although having serious reservations about their efficacy, they still feel obligated to continue such programs.

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118.

Status-role. The status-role of the librarian is not clear-cut. At least four factors contribute to this blurred picture. The size of the community is an important one. Much more, presumably, would be expected in terms of education, social attributes, political awareness, and executive ability of the librarian in the large city than of his counterpart in a small village. The lack of precise job differentiation in a small library between professional, semi-professional, and clerical tasks is a second confusing factor. The desk attendant who "stamps out" books is likely to be thought of as a librarian fully as much as the behind-the-scenes professional, who in the small library also takes his turn at stamping out books. A third factor is the relative "invisibility" of the work which requires the greatest skill. Selecting books for purchase, cataloguing them, using critical judgment in difficult reference work are tasks generally not seen by the public. The semi-professionalization of the occupation which allows tremendous latitude in the degree of training and education also contributes to a non-definitive status-role. Those who classify themselves as trained range all the way from those having had an undergraduate semester of elementary technical courses to those having had one or more full years of work beyond the baccalaureate degree with a full-time faculty of university caliber.[5]

Leigh speaks of the image of the status-role of librarians as follows:

> The findings established a solid factual base for correcting the caricatures of the profession that have arisen from the almost universal human tendency to assume the existence of general occupational characteristics from a few exceptional cases. Librarians have been pictured frequently as acidulous old maids, timid, retiring bookworms, or sweet impractical idealists, as masculine women and

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

feminine men. The Inquiry findings lead to the conclusion that as a group librarians have backgrounds, interests, and temperaments normal for persons engaged in the intellectual occupations.[6]

As professionalization advances and as standards become more uniform, some change will doubtless occur in the status-role of the librarian.

Power, authority, and influence. The public librarian is a government official whose office is established by the state under permissive legislation and whose institution is generally initiated by the local unit of government, the village, city, township, or county. The librarian is given authority to run the library in a manner compatible with the policies determined in conjunction with the local library board. As in the case of the county agricultural agent, there is little power inherent in the position as such. To the extent that the librarian can involve himself with the power forces of the community, he can influence public opinion concerning the library. Such an alignment with power groups can be fully as important on the state as on the local level. In all the states where library progress, in terms of state aid, library demonstrations, or favorable legislation has been made, the state library associations with the backing of strategic local power groups and with an active state library have invariably been necessary.

In a recent nation-wide study of adult education in rural areas,[7] the question was asked, "What other organizations do you work with or through in your educational work with adults?" Interestingly enough it was found that for the better supported county and regional libraries, 20 per cent reported work with elected or appointed government bodies. Only 5 per cent of the less well-supported county and regional libraries report working with such bodies.

Sanctions. The chief librarian seeks to obtain the confidence of his board so that members become willing sponsors of the programs he initiates. The penalties which can be exerted by the board range from an unwillingness to go along with the librarian's proposals and board interference with execution of policy, to downright dismissal. The latter is sometimes accomplished by stymying every proposal of any consequence that the librarian makes. Rewards most often are a "free hand" to do what the librarian thinks is best, salary increases, and accelerated presentation to the local government of the needs of the library. Sanctions and rewards as they apply to the librarians other than the chief librarian, are similar to those just described; they are meted out by the chief librarian rather than by the library board, except where collaborative action by the board is necessary as in the case of salary changes or dismissals.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[7] Ruth Warncke, "Public Libraries," in C. P. Loomis *et al.*, *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 177.

Territoriality. In 1950 there were 7,477 public library systems in the continental United States.[8] Available reports from 5,773 library systems reveal that 60 per cent had budgets of less than $4,000, 30 per cent had budgets of less than $1,000.[9] The tremendous number of libraries with token support give only nominal service and fall far short of the professionally approved standards.

Although a standard of 25,000 population and $1.50 per capita was set for minimum library service within the last decade, with the approval of the American Library Association, this standard is considered too low by subsequent studies. There is some indication that the standards as recommended by the Public Library Inquiry are being incorporated into the thinking of library planners. The following excerpts relating to standards of library service are taken from an American Library Association publication:

> For full-scale modern library service the standards of 100,000 population and $100,000 annual income, recommended by the Public Library Inquiry, should be accepted. . . .
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> Some study has been given to the question of the optimum size of

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[8] U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, *Public Library Statistics, 1950,* Bulletin 1953, No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 5.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

> the library unit, in view of the fact that the newly proposed library system might become too large. When good quality service can be offered by the city of Chicago, with an area of 212.8 square miles, a population of almost three and three-fourths millions and a total library income of approximately $4,000,000 (1951) and at the same time by San Bernardino County, California, covering over 20,000 square miles, serving a population of nearly 170,000 on an income of $168,000, then the physical size of the unit, whether in area or population, is not as important obviously as that funds and personnel be adequate. . . .
>
> Rural areas should recive the same services as urban areas, and the same standards for books and materials should obtain in both. . . .[10]

The large number of public libraries may suggest that, however scant the service of the poorly supported ones, everyone must have access to one of the 7,000. This is not so, as the following quotation reveals:

> Almost 27 million people in the United States are without access to local public library service. Most of these people are in the rural areas, the fringe areas around large cities, and areas affected by defense activities and other Federal projects.
>
> Of the approximately 3,000 counties in the United States, 404 do not have a single public library within their borders.[11]

The latter are mostly rural. "The rural resident in America has been the forgotten man in library service," according to library specialists.[12] Approximately half of the rural population of the United States does not have public library service. The percentage of total population by states without local public library service is shown in Figure 42. More than half the total population of such states as North and South Dakota, West Virginia, Mississippi, and Idaho is without public library service. At the other extreme, the entire population of Delaware, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island has such service.

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[10] Gretchen Knief Schenk, *County and Regional Library Development* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1954), pp. 249-50.

[11] Washington Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 7 (Washington, D.C., American Library Association; May 13, 1955), p. 3.

[12] Carleton B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow, *A National Plan for Public Library Service; Prepared for the Committee on Postwar Planning of the American Library Association* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1948), p. 43.

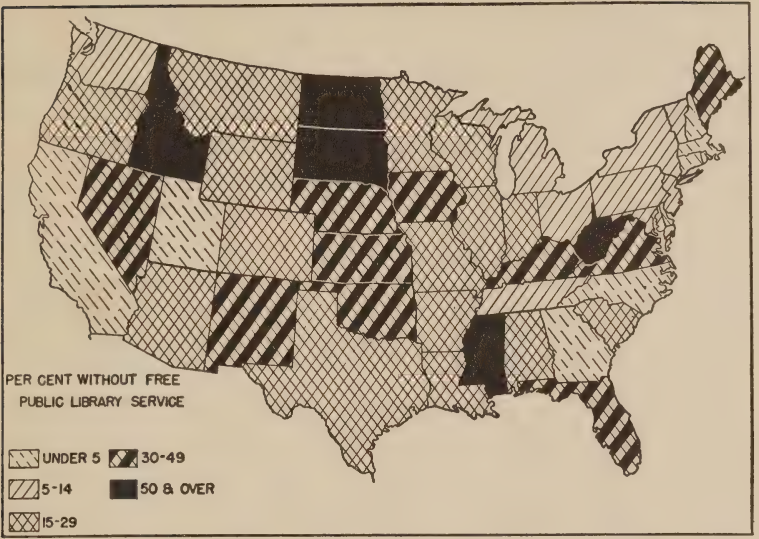

Figure 42. Percentage of Total Population Without Free Public Library Service, by States, 1953. (Source: *American Library Association Bulletin,* Vol. 48, No. 9, 1954, p. 523.)

In recognition of the tremendous variations among libraries in size, resources, and facilities, the Public Library Inquiry divided the whole number of public libraries into four major groups. Types I and IV are described as follows:

> TYPE I: Large city libraries (over 100,000 population), totaling 2 percent of the country's public libraries. They have annual expenditures of $100,000 or more, ten or more branches depending upon city size, a book stock of 150,000 volumes as a minimum, and a total personnel, including many specialists, numbered in the hundreds. . . .
>
> TYPE IV: Small village libraries with populations less than 5,000, totaling 65 per cent of the public libraries in the United States. Their annual expenditures are under $4,000. Their book stock ranges from a few shelves of books for circulation to as many as 10,000 volumes; two-thirds of them have less than 6,000 volumes. They are open on a part-time basis from a few hours up to twenty-four hours a week, with a single part-time librarian, in most cases not professionally trained in a library school, aided by a part-time nonprofessional as-

sistant. They carry on very little reference work and have no departmental organization.[13]

Although Type IV libraries comprise two-thirds of the total number of public libraries, they serve only one tenth of the population receiving library service. Local initiative has not been sufficient to create and maintain libraries in small villages. According to Leigh:

> . . . only one-third of the 14,500 villages in the United States with populations less than 5,000 have, as yet, organized and maintained independent public libraries. This means that the principle of locally-created, autonomous municipal library units has led to the provision of libraries in less than half the municipalities of the country.[14]

The large areas with no library service or with poorly developed service has given rise to library extension specialization within the profession. Organized as a division of some state libraries or as a department in some big city libraries, library extension workers seek to promote the establishment of library units of service and administration which will be large enough to be effective. The creation of county or multi-county regional libraries has received emphasis in much the same way that larger school districts are being established by the combining of small districts.

Berelson distinguishes four forms of territorial implications of library use. First, there are regional areas where educational achievement and income levels are relatively high and where public library use is relatively high. Such a region, for example, is the Pacific Coast. The North and the South can also be statistically differentiated, with about 21 per cent of the people in the North using the public library during the past year as compared with only 9 per cent of the people in the South.

Second, there is a relationship between rural and urban residence and use of the library. Even in areas where public library service is available equally to rural and urban people, the urban residents make greater use of library services than rural residents. "This may possibly be attributed," says Berelson, "to a differential in educational level, but it is also due, in all probability, to inequalities in availability, owing to great rural distances."[15]

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[13] Leigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Third, there is a relationship between the size of city and library use. "In consistent progression, the smaller the city (down to 25,000), the larger the use made of library service. . . . Although small communities (below 10,000) do have 'public libraries' often they are not well staffed or stocked or open on a full-time basis. Although there are exceptions, the curve of library use may decline in such small communities."[16]

Finally, the distance separating the user from the public library is related to library use. The closer people live to the public library, the more it is used. ". . . one study revealed that about 20 per cent of the people living less than three miles from the library used it, as against 12 per cent of those living from three to five miles and only 8 per cent of those living over five miles away."[17]

Each of the forty-eight states has a state library, usually with library extension agencies. Their levels of service vary as much as do the public libraries. A traditional service of mailing boxed lots of books for general circulating purposes is gradually falling into disuse, and emphasis is being placed instead on the encouragement of larger-unit organization at the local level. The impetus for change to library units that are large enough to be effective will come about, probably, only as the state libraries are strong enough to assume vigorous leadership.[18]

Facilities. The facilities of the very small public library are visible from the front door. On the other hand, no single person probably ever sees all the facilities of a large library, and probably only a portion of the library staff have any realization of the scope of the facilities. Few of the patrons have such extensive interests that they come to know about more than a part of the facilities. The music patron who listens to a recording of a composition, the score for which is before him, and who borrows books which analyze the composition, for instance, may not necessarily know about the map collection. The historical researcher using the periodical and newspaper holdings through the microfilm viewer may not know of the businessman's use of current aerial survey maps and market analyses.

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[15] Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public: A Report of the Public Library Inquiry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 40-42.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

[18] Leigh, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

A cumulative system of comprehensive bibliography and periodic lists of books in print put out for the book trade are the backbone of book ordering. More selective bibliographies compiled within the profession and without are among the facilities. Library buildings—the main library and its system of branches—constitute a basic facility. In rural areas housing facilities are often arranged in a part of some local government building and branch quarters are often rented.

Social rank. In a study involving some 6,700 high school students and their attitudes to work and selected occupations, the occupation of librarian was found to be rated rather low. By the boys, the occupation was rated equal with the recreational director, the cashier in a bank, and the real estate agent, but below the teacher, the electrician who owned his own business, the manager of a 5¢ and 10¢ store, and the registered nurse. The girls rated the occupation even lower.[19]

Whereas the social rank of the librarian must be inferred because of lack of research on the subject, the social rank of the library's public has received considerable attention.

Although people of all walks of life use the library, the proportion of children and young adults using the library is greater than for other age groups. Relatively more middle-income groups use the library than the rich or the poor, relatively more single than married people use it, slightly more women than men, and more skilled workers than unskilled. Berelson suggests that most if not all of these personal characteristics of the library user is attributable to another factor—that formal education retains its role as a major determinant of library use. As will be recalled from Chapter 8, twice as large a proportion of college trained people are found in urban areas than on farms. The significance of this should be obvious when we consider that from 10 to 15 per cent of adults having only a grade-school education are library users as compared with about four times as many of the college-educated. Berelson says:

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[19] *Youth and the World of Work* (East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College; September, 1949), p. 67 A.

> . . . the library clientele is remarkable for its wide interest in all media of communication. As a group, the library users read more magazines than do their fellows, and they tend to read and see and hear more 'serious' communication content. Thus, they constitute a 'communication elite.' This interest in the sources of ideas and information suggests another characteristic of library users. There is a tendency for them to be 'opinion leaders' in their community, that is, persons who influence other people. As a group, they are more curious about the world than their fellows; they know more; they have more ideas and opinions; their word is respected more.[20]

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND THE LIBRARY

Communication. Inter-library communication is accomplished by a number of professional periodicals and by publications of the national association. The two series of annual meetings of the national association—the one designed for committee work clearance and the other for general membership—provide means for formal and informal communication. There are state associations, some sub-state associations, and specialized librarian associations, all of which constitute communication channels. The smaller the system, the more intra-system communication tends to be informal, although even in the small staff regular staff meetings are often held. The larger the staff the more necessary it is to resort to the bureaucratic procedures for communication: staff meetings, special committee or interest group staff meetings, and interdepartmental memos. The more the system becomes decentralized, the more formal becomes the communication. Large libraries frequently have staff officers (as contrasted with "line" personnel) whose function cuts across the line of command of various departments to facilitate inter-departmental cooperation and understanding.

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[20] Berelson, *op, cit.*, p. 127.

Decision-making. The decision-making process as it applies to the American Library Association has been effectively summarized by Leigh, as follows:

> ALA and, so far as we could discover, the regional, state, and local associations have created a formal machinery for elections, deliberation, and decision-making which follows democratic forms and procedures more completely than do most voluntary and professional groups that have come under our observation. . . . Furthermore, the actual practice in carrying on the deliberation of the Association is characterized by a sensitivity to the democratic values of open discussion and wide representation which is very impressive. Like all large groups with a paid, permanent secretariat and with unpaid officers and committee members whose participation at conferences depends on time and adequate expense accounts provided by employing libraries, ALA tends to develop a group of insiders who carry a large part of the burden of planning, decision-making, and leadership. And from time to time this tendency develops a counter tendency among younger, ambitious, less conspicuous members to feel left out, neglected, or unrepresented. On two occasions, at least, in the last twenty years the ALA has experienced a successful insurrection of the outsiders against the insiders. Thus, although authority and influence here, as in other organizations, gravitate inevitably to the official leadership in most matters, deliberation and decision broaden out, on occasion, to include all those in the association with positive interest in a particular issue, and adequate machinery is available for making their opinions articulate.[21]

Although there are safeguards of tradition and organization to insure that decision-making within the professional organizations be by democratic process, the complexity of boards, divisions, committees, and commissions tends to limit the full knowledge of association activities to the paid officials or a few of the executive board. Since it usually falls to those with full knowledge to make the decisions, the many committees organized for the purpose of democratic decision-making tend to defeat the purpose for which they were created. This, of course, is typical of professional associations of educators, ministers, health officials, and others.

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[21] Leigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

Boundary maintenance. One type of boundary maintenance springs from the library's educational objectives. Since the nation's school systems also have education as an objective, the suggestion is continually appearing that the public library system be incorporated into the public school and/or public college and university system. Without treating the cogent reasons which librarians advance to attack this proposal, almost universally librarians rally to the support of the separation of school and library system, thereby maintaining boundaries. Another occasional threat is the appointment of a non-professional "librarian" to a high library position. Such appointments are sometimes understandable, as when a state library agency whose main objective is library extension is headed by a political scientist conversant with local politics in the state. Some jobs are summed up by the appointing boards as most needing culture, broad knowledge, administrative ability, and "connections." When an appointee meeting these qualifications, but not library-trained, was made head of the biggest government library in the land, numerous articles in library periodicals criticized the appointment and the new "head" made graceful references in his maiden speech to his anomalous position in addressing the national convention. A program of state aid to local libraries requiring the local maintenance of personnel standards, has been known to be jeopardized, because the community wishes to observe boundary maintenance by the hiring of local people, rather than "imported" people with the specified qualifications.

Social-cultural linkage. Many evidences of the social processes just treated are found in the local public library's attempt to maintain linkage with its constituency. The annual report, the work with and through community groups, the public relations program, and the calendar of local events, all seek to maintain and strengthen this linkage. Where linkage has not been achieved, it is the librarians through their association or through their state extension agency who probably are the vigorous change agents seeking to effect the linkage. In other words, it generally is the library seeking to establish itself in the county, rather than the county seeking the library. The Public Library Inquiry sees the future social-cultural linkage in the form of large effective units of library service, accomplished by means of state library and state association initiative, successfully rallying local support from all points throughout the state. Obviously, skillful communication within the profession, and between it and the public, would be involved in the kind of social-cultural linkage prerequisite to the goal set forth in this chapter in the section on territoriality. All of these processes are well illustrated in the case at the end of this chapter.

MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

According to Leigh, the library "may also be thought of as a constituent part of public [or mass] communication: the machinery by which words, sounds, and images flow from points of origin through an impersonal medium to hosts of unseen readers and audiences."[22] Without singling out the social factors at work in the dissemination process, we will examine briefly the various mass media. We shall pay special attention to the mass media of communication with respect to their impact upon rural people.

Audiences of the mass media. ". . . The two most striking characteristics of modern mass communication," argues Leigh, "are its sheer abundance and its easy accessibility—one might also say, its obtusiveness."[23] Berelson has attempted to make a rough comparison of public exposure to communication media, drawing his data from a number of different studies. The following study was made, of course, prior to the widespread ownership of TV sets:

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

> . . . About 25-30 percent of the adult population reads one or more *books* a month; about 45-50 percent of the adult population sees a *motion picture* once every two weeks or oftener; about 60-70 percent of the adult population reads one or more *magazines* more or less regularly; about 85-90 percent of the adult population reads one or more *newspapers* more or less regularly; about 90-95 per cent of the adult population listens to the *radio* fifteen minutes a day or more. Of the five major public media of communication, book reading is the most limited in terms of total population.[24]

He finds, interestingly enough, that the book readers (adults who have read one or more books in the past year) use all the forms of communication, except radio, oftener than do nonreaders of books. See Table 28. They are also, he reports, likely to be more critical of the mass communication media, their critical faculty being heightened, he suggests, by their much greater reliance upon the more specialized medium of books.

TABLE 28

BOOK READERS AND NON-BOOK READERS IN RELATION TO THE USE OF OTHER TYPES OF COMMUNICATION

Communications Behavior	*Percentage of Book Readers*[1]	*Percentage of Nonreaders of Books*
Read one or more *newspapers* every day	91	76
Listen to the *radio* two or more hours a day	69	68
Read two or more *magazines* regularly	71	39
Attend two or more *motion pictures* a month	58	45
Hear one or more *speeches* or *talks* in a year	29	14
Sometimes read *government bulletins*	58	37

SOURCE: Survey Research Center findings of 1948 reported in Bernard Berelson, *The Library's Public: A Report of the Public Library Inquiry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 8.

[1] "Book Readers are defined as adults who have read one or more books during the past year.

COUNTRY WEEKLIES AND FARM MAGAZINES

While many rural people in America are not without the influence of urban and metropolitan newspapers, the country weekly retains a unique position among the mass media. According to one writer, "The position of the country weekly newspaper is that of a pulsing, throbbing institution which reaches to the grass roots of the community social structure, reflecting its life, customs, and civilization."[25] Unquestionably, the unpretentious country weekly does exercise an important educational, political, and social force in rural communities.

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[24] Berelson, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

The function of country weeklies. Weekly newspapers were published in 8,812 towns and villages in 1952.[26] This number represents a decline from approximately 16,000 in 1900, 13,000 in 1929 and 10,523 in 1947. The pattern of distribution of country weeklies shows large numbers in relation to rural population throughout the middle west and plains states and small numbers in relation to rural population in the south and the southwest.

Despite the obvious inefficiencies and economic shortcomings besetting the small country weekly, its survival is remarkable. The explanation rests, at least in part, in the intimacy or the Gemeinschaft-like nature of the country weekly. "It is this close association with the affairs of intimate interest, with the moments of anguish and happiness in life," Barnhart believes, "that has earned for the weekly newspaper a traditional place in the homes of small-town and rural America."[27]

One of the most important functions of the country weekly, in contrast to larger newspapers, is the detailed reporting of community "news." Local interest stories represent "good" journalism everywhere, but in no other instance are local events so completely covered. Reporting of births, weddings, deaths, group meetings of community organizations, and visiting of neighbors are the stock in trade of the country editor. The personal knowledge of such an event only increases the necessity to read about it in the newspaper.

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[25] Thomas F. Barnhart, "Weekly Newspaper Management" in George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin, *The Newspaper and Society* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942), pp. 355-356.

[26] *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1952), p. 7.

[27] Barnhart, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

A second function of the country weekly is the role of leadership that can and often is utilized by virtue of the strategic position in regard to communication. This function may be exercised through the editorial, through projects for community betterment, or both. Through the editorial, the country editor may easily play the role of a public opinion leader for the community. Certainly countless community projects have been initiated and carried out through the efforts of the country weekly editor. It would be an unbalanced discussion, however, if some of the difficulties facing country editors were not considered. In a study of adult education, one Pennsylvania editor writes as follows regarding the problems he faces:

> It is our opinion that every newspaper in the country could use one more "writing man" but even the most financially able papers now find it nearly impossible to add another "unproductive" man to their staff and payroll. Only those who earn their keep with money-making work can any longer be justified. . . . My business could very well use one more extra man—if I could pay him, but I can't. He could either do some of the business "work" and allow me time for writing or be editor and allow me some time to run the business. I now do both in 80 to 90 hours per week. . . . Not more than 40 man hours goes into the writing and editing of the news content of my paper, approximately half of which I do myself.[28]

Another editor reports the difficulties of avoiding numerous factions in promoting community projects. A Florida editor writes: "I organized a Community Forum backed by churches, bringing in speakers and preparing groundwork for a study group this winter. Speakers represented Florida universities, patriotic groups, various religions. International understanding was the main theme I tried to promote, but patriotic groups caused dissension."[29]

Farm magazines. Like the country weeklies, the farm magazines are important media serving educational functions for rural people. With the growing commercialization and specialization of agriculture, the number and variety of farm magazines and periodicals have increased. In 1947, there were 95 "general agricultural and farm periodicals" reaching 16,500,000 people. In addition, there were 144 "specified agricultural and farm periodicals" reaching approximately 6,000,000 persons.[30]

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[28] Written communication from the study of adult education in rural areas by J. Allan Beegle, "Mass Media of Communication," in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

In his survey of the magazine reading public, Smith[31] shows that urban residents read magazines much more than farm or village residents and that farmers and farm managers are similar to semi-skilled urban workers in the proportion of readers. In a sample of urban and farm people, it has been shown that magazine reading is closely related to use of library. Among those who use the library frequently, almost half read from four to six or more magazines regularly.[32]

On the basis of research evidence, farm papers and magazines play an important role in changing farm practices. In a study of the Extension Service in Vermont,[33] more farmers mentioned farm papers and magazines than other sources leading them to change farm practices. Wilkening[34] found that Wisconsin farmers most frequently gave farm magazines as the most important source of information about new things in farming. A repeated pattern revealed by the farmers studied was that they first read about new things and then talked about them with other farmers. Figure 43 summarizes the results of Wilkening's study of the most important sources of information. Of the mass media shown, note the importance of farm magazines in the first response and of radio programs, especially in third responses. Newspapers were considered of minor importance as sources of new information by Wisconsin farmers.

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[30] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1952* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 469.

[31] Joel Smith, *The Characteristics of Magazine Audiences—A Survey of the Literature* (New York: Columbia University master's thesis, 1950), Chapter 5.

[32] Angus Campbell and Charles A. Metzner, *Public Use of the Library and Other Sources of Information* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1950), p. 9.

[33] *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One* (Washington, D.C.: USDA, Extension Service in Cooperation with Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1947).

[34] Eugene A. Wilkening, *Adoption of Improved Farm Practices* (Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 183, 1953).

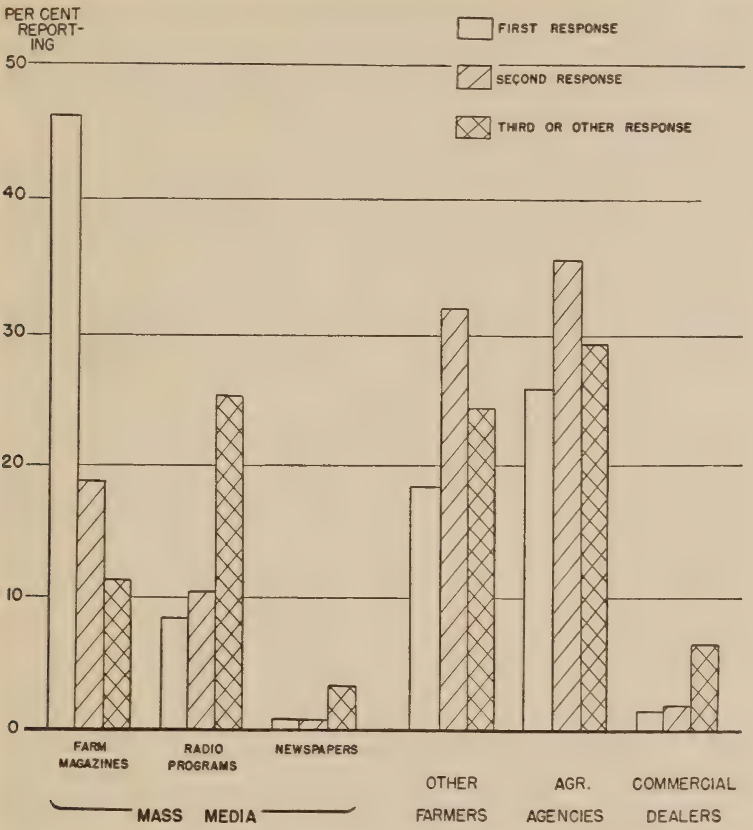

Figure 43. Percentage of Sample Farmers Reporting Major Types of Contacts for Most Information and for Additional Information about New Things in Farming. (Source: Eugene A. Wilkening, *Adoption of Improved Farm Practices,* Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 183, 1953, pp. 16-17.)

RADIO AND TELEVISION

The radio and more recently television are educational and entertainment media having an important impact upon farm people. As media of communication, they are urban centered and rarely achieve the degree of intimacy characteristic of the country weekly. With few exceptions, radio and television are urban creations and are important media in the urbanization of rural life. Numerous studies show the influence of the radio on farm families to be important. When rural electrification made radio possible in two rural counties, for example, the interest of farmers in national affairs increased.[35]

Radio and television in rural areas. While radio ownership among farmers is less complete than among urbanites, the difference is no longer great. Of those reporting in 1950, only 8.0 per cent of the rural-farm occupied dwellings were without a radio. The comparable percentages for rural-nonfarm and urban occupied dwellings, as shown in Table 29, are 6.9 per cent and 2.8 per cent. As might be expected, larger proportions of farmers in the southern states than elsewhere are without a radio.

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS HAVING RADIO AND TELEVISION, BY RESIDENCE, 1950

	Residence and Per Cent			
Radio and Television	*Total*	*Urban*	*Rural-Nonfarm*	*Rural-farm*
RADIO				
Number Reporting	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With Radio	95.7	97.2	93.1	92.0
No Radio	4.3	2.8	6.9	8.0
TELEVISION				
Number Reporting	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
With Television	12.0	15.7	5.9	2.7
No Television	88.0	84.3	94.1	97.3

SOURCE: Based upon 20 per cent sample, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954), p. 799. The increase in the sale of television sets since 1950 has been enormous but data for rural and urban areas are not available. Estimates for January 1954 show that 71.9 percent of 43,580,000 "domestic and farm electric customers" owned a television set. *Ibid.*, p. 856.

Due to his relative isolation and distance from urban centers, television is reaching the farmer more slowly than the urban resident. While the data cited in Table 29 obviously underestimate the prevalence of television today, nonetheless, they suggest the nature of rural-urban differences.

The rural audience. The occupation of farming as well as the farmer's value orientation make for differences between farm and nonfarm people in radio listening. In a large nation-wide sample of rural families,[36] it was found that farm families would miss the following types of programs most if their radios gave out: news, religious programs, serial stories, market reports, and old-time music, in the order named. The same study reported that only 13 per cent said it would make little or no difference if their radio set gave out. The median number of hours spent daily listening to the radio was 2.3 for men and 3.7 for women in this sample.

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[35] W. S. Robinson, "Radio Comes to the Farmer" in *Radio Research 1941* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), pp. 224-295.

A study of radio listening among farm people in Louisiana[37] indicated that day-time program preferences differ considerably from night-time preferences. Day program preferences were reported as follows: first, news programs; second, music; and third, drama. Night-time program preferences were as follows: first, music; second, comedy and variety; and third, news programs. Of the music programs, "western and hillbilly" music was most popular, with religious music ranking next. More than three-fourths of the men had "definite" interest in market reports over the radio.

Numerous studies show radio to be a relatively unimportant medium in effecting change in farm practices. Less than one-tenth of the Vermont farmers reported the radio to be the best source of information about new farming practices. In this study, farm papers and magazines, the county agent, and friends and neighbors, in the order named, were reported to be more influential in changing farm practices than the radio.[38] As shown in Figure 43, only seven per cent of Wisconsin farmers gave radio as a first response when reporting "major types of contacts for most information and for additional information about new things in farming."

[36] *Attitudes of Rural People Toward Radio Service,* Washington, D.C.: USDA, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1946.

[37] A. L. Bertrand and Homer L. Hitt, *Radio Habits in Rural Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 440; September, 1949), pp. 24-37.

[38] *The Extension Service in Vermont, op. cit.* See also Smith's study of the use of radio and newspapers as sources of market news for farmers in Michigan. Joel Smith, *Organization of the Farm and Mass Communication* (Evanston: Northwestern doctoral dissertation, 1954).

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF VARIOUS MASS MEDIA[39]

Considerable consensus exists concerning the essential attributes and characteristics of the several mass media of communication. The present consensus may be summarized as follows: First, the length of exposure to printed matter may be controlled by the reader, whereas radio and motion picture audiences are compelled to follow a set pace. It is possible for the individual to exercise his power of choice to a larger extent in printed matter than in other media. Second, the frequency of exposure to printed matter may be as frequent as the reader chooses. Radio programs or motion pictures are not commonly heard or seen twice by the same person. Hence, printed matter is more accessible than the other media. Third, in printed matter, length can be adapted to the form demanded by the nature of the material to be presented. Radio and film presentations are usually of relatively short duration and not ideally adapted to the presentation of intricate subject matter. Fourth, the content of printed matter is less standardized than in other media, and minority opinions may be expressed more easily in print than on the radio or screen.

In summary, printed materials permit the reader to determine his own speed and frequency of reading. Print allows repeated exposure and permits minority and specialized views to be heard. Radio, on the other hand, often reaches many who are not reached through printed matter. The radio audience tends to be less educated and more suggestible than other mass media audiences. The personal element of face-to-face interaction and discussion, lacking in all types of mass media, is approximated in television. It is unlikely, however, that any mass medium can become more effective in communication than direct, face-to-face interaction between intimates.

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[39] See Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Media* (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1949), pp. 11-29, and J. Allan Beegle, "Mass Media of Communication" in C. P. Loomis, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-320.

A LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AND A STATE LEGISLATURE

To illustrate the elements and processes of the rural library and mass media as social systems, we present a case which describes how the Wisconsin Library Association managed to secure legislation to establish a regional library demonstration project. The action, now considered among professional librarians as a model in its effectiveness, obviously involves social-cultural linkage between the association (the change agent) and the state legislature (the target system). In reality any effective program of adult education, whether carried on by an association, a library, or any of the other social systems, involves many of the considerations presented here.

THE LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN[40]

The principles observed in developing the legislative program that made possible the Door-Kewaunee Regional Library Demonstration are basic to any program requesting funds or authority, whether on a local, county, state or national level.

Although considerable care was exercised in framing the bill—a skilled bill drafter sat in with us—we found out later, partly through the Attorney General's Office, that the bill had several loopholes. It would have been wiser to have consulted more than one legal advisor and to have the opinion of education and health people with similar experiences and problems. We thought our bill was explicit but we found out later that it was not clear in all details. Had we submitted the draft to more people with varied experiences we would have avoided some ambiguities. [*Note that status-roles* (*bill drafter, legal advisor, etc.*) *must be involved to put proposed action in proper form to meet universalistic standards of specificity.*] These difficulties accentuate the wisdom of proceeding slowly and avoiding pressure operations.

Once the bill had been approved by librarians and other interested groups, [*supporting social systems*] over-all strategy [*or plan for social-cultural linkage*] was agreed upon by the board of the library association and the Joint Extension Committee. It was decided that one person should be selected to work directly with the members of the legislature, to call the signals for group action, and to make quick decisions of strategy based upon "on the spot" information. [*Authority was vested in one person to coordinate or "quarter back" action, thus taking advantage of situations requiring quick decisions.*] Chosen as executive secretary, it was my task to sometimes initiate and always to coordinate the activities of librarians, trustees, organizations and friends so that our joint efforts would produce the greatest impact. President Jane Billings and I consulted constantly to avoid any action that might not have the wholehearted support of the library association membership. Having someone on the scene all the time has its advantages; however, no one planning such a program should think that such an arrangement removes the need for concerted action by others. The full responsibility can never be shifted to one person; no program should ever be built on the strength of one personality. No program should be won unless people want it and support it.

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[40] Margie Sornson Malmberg, "The Legislative Campaign" in *The Idea in Action* (Madison: Wisconsin Free Library Commission, 1953), pp. 8-10.

Since we knew that people must know, need, want and understand a program before they will work for it or support it, we attempted to help them know and understand our goals and how we hoped to achieve them. [*Social-cultural linkage requires an understanding of the intentions and objectives of the change agent.*] We prepared brief, colorful and attractive brochures, we spoke at meetings, used the newspapers and radio, in addition to the word of mouth campaign. [*Mass media were used.*] While certain persons were responsible for enlisting the support of specific organizations, we sought to have everyone feel a responsibility for selling the campaign to friends and legislators. It would have been wise to have selected one person from each library district to be responsible for coordinating the activities of the district instead of working directly with individuals. [*More local "quarter-backing" with constituents was needed.*] While we might have found more brochures helpful, we couldn't finance more than we did. Of course, too much material, not sufficiently condensed, can cause more harm than good. Brevity and sincerity were stressed in everything we did. [*These are ideal standards for all mass media. Brevity includes implications of instrumental action of a* Gesellschaft *nature; sincerity, the affectual and particularistic aspects of the* Gemeinschaft.]

In telling people about our program we reminded them of the legislative procedures, the crises that might arise, the hearings to be held, the votes to be taken, and what would be expected of them on sudden notice. We cautioned them that, in their enthusiasm, they should not oversell the program, promising things we would be unable to deliver. People need to be kept informed if one expects them to respond intelligently. They need to be informed of the results of their activities if they are to continue their interest.

Great care went into the selection of sponsors for our bills in both the Senate and the Assembly. Assembly and Senate sessions were observed for some time to ascertain who would be best. [*Selection of the sponsors is the initial step in social-cultural linkage between change agent and target system.*] We were fortunate in securing people with considerable personal prestige [*or social rank*] from both parties, and some held membership on important committees. Every section of the state was represented and all showed marked interest in the bill. While it turned out that we didn't actually need the Senate bill, having it had strategic advantages several times in keeping our opposition guessing and, of course, the Senate sponsors were better informed than they might have been otherwise. Therefore they were more interested and helpful. While some states do not permit the introduction of a bill in both houses, it is advantageous in giving a second chance in the event one house turns the bill down. Some people insist it makes no difference who introduces the bill, but it has always seemed to me that a bill endorsed by people with prestige and enthusiasm has a better chance of passage.

During the period that Senate and Assembly sessions were being observed to evaluate possible sponsors, rules and procedures were observed closely. [*For effective social-cultural linkage the change agent must know the norms of the target system, in this case the legislature.*] This later proved helpful at several critical stages. It was important to read the newspapers daily to learn how others evaluated events of the day, to get copies of all calendar procedures, to learn all the rules and to acquire a general awareness of the total picture. In addition it was important to make friends with legislators, newspapermen, elevator operators, and others. Often it was the newspaperman who gave me vital help and on more than one occasion it was the friendly elevator man who knew where someone was who had to be seen at once. [*Note how the status-roles which are strategic in the communication with different social ranks are used.*] A private card file was kept on every member of the legislature, filled with pertinent information that proved helpful in interviewing them. It is always easier to talk to someone when you have briefed yourself on his interests. [*While each legislator plays status-roles in the legislature, he is also a person and must be dealt with in terms of his other status-roles as an actor and his personal characteristics.*]

This card file of information proved particularly helpful when we were preparing for the hearings. Since hearings provide the opportunity for proponents and opponents to present their cases before the committee who will recommend or disapprove favorable action by the whole house, it was vital that they be well planned. The Assembly Education Committee came first, and for weeks all their hearings were attended to observe the members in action, to know the kinds of questions they asked, to observe the types of people who seemed to make the best impression, and to generally familiarize myself with things that would be helpful for our hearings. It was soon apparent that brief, clearly and enthusiastically presented talks made the best impression. [*The process of communication with its particular standards is illustrated.*] We were able to avoid the "selfish interest" charge which had been leveled at us in the past by securing speakers from such organizations as the PTA, Farm Bureau, CIO, County Boards Association and the Council of Agricultural Cooperatives. We won a favorable report from the Education Committee. Before the Joint Finance Committee we emphasized those features most impressive to men concerned with budgetary problems, presented by people they respected and accepted. [*Communication must be keyed to the interest and competence of the immediate target.*] The Assembly had already passed the bill when the Joint Finance Committee reported it unfavorably by a very close vote. The action of this committee made it essential that we redouble our efforts to secure Senate passage.

While we had been encouraging people to inform their legislators about our goals and our bill, as soon as we knew when the Assembly would vote on the measure we arranged for concerted action. By phone, telegrams, letters and personal contacts the Assemblymen felt the impact of our friends' opinions on the day the bill was to be voted on. People wrote what they believed rather than parroted phrases of ours, signed mimeographed cards or other such mass action that does not reflect originality. It has been my experience that such communications quickly find the way into the wastebasket rather than to the attention of the person for whom they were intended. [*Processes of communication with legislators in a democracy have definite standards; sincerity and originality here is taken as more indicative of potential power or indication of the way in which votes may be cast in elections than mimeographed or machine-like action of an organization.*] We developed a renewed healthy respect for the worth of every individual for we never knew which person would present the information, the friendship or the influence that was needed to give us a majority vote. Similarly, Senate action was planned and in part executed. We had far more crises in the Senate, and it was here that a detailed knowledge of rules and procedures paid dividends. Having briefed Lieutenant Governor Smith in advance paid off when he broke a tie vote in our favor when our opponents sought to table the measure; it was a knowledge of pairing an absent proponent's vote with a negative vote that saved us twice, and we were saved another time by arranging for reconsideration of the bill the following day when more of our friends would be present after a first defeat. Had we not been aware of what to do at each time and arranged for such eventualities in advance we could not have won, for at that time our floor leader was deeply embroiled in another matter and didn't have time to plan strategy. He welcomed our plan of action, executed it beautifully, and we won by one vote!

Each of these emergencies emphasized the importance of timing. [*Perhaps the most important decision-making process in the strategy of change is when to act.*] Legislators are busy, harassed people who appreciate it when those wanting their support or advice display an understanding of procedures, present their case briefly, concisely, clearly, and with enthusiasm. They respect and admire effective, efficient, well-timed action. They welcome and appreciate such action on the part of many at the proper time as a reflection of peoples' thinking, but such pressure at any other time merely annoys or frustrates them. They are likewise appreciative when they are not approached while they are deeply embroiled in another problem and time is of the essence. In brief, an understanding of proper timing for group or individual action is essential if one is to avoid being either a pest or an annoyance.

As each crisis arose we realized that something one might call good manners, for want of a better word, paid dividends. [*The importance of norms as well as social-roles cannot be over-emphasized. The leading status-role in this case was played so effectively that the legislators to play their male roles correctly were compelled to help her lobby.*] Legislators are very human people subjected to innumerable pressures and demands from all types and kinds of people, and seemed appreciative of thoughtfulness, courteousness, and a brief informative and sincerely presented picture. They responded to an appreciation of their problems by a good listener. They welcomed someone who never knocked another program, posed as an authority on every measure or threatened retaliation if in opposition. They welcomed good sportsmanship and were grateful that everyone was thanked for courteousness and kindness if not for support in the event they had voted against us. It was the knowledge that everyone had been thanked that made it easier to approach them again in the special session when we had to pass the bill over the governor's veto. It was that display of thoughtfulness and sportsmanship that encouraged some of them to vote for us in that special session so that the veto was overridden.

It may be a trite statement but it still holds true, that legislators respond to the will of the constituents. The people back home know their legislators as neighbors, fellow businessmen, or fellow clubmen. They are the ones who can best influence the individual legislator. That is why it is so important that people know the goals, the plans, and the procedures and progress of the campaign. Then they can, in their own way, at the right time, let their friend and neighbor, the Senator or the Assemblyman know what they want. They have the vote! They are the ones to make their wants known!

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14

Direction and Strategy of Change

IN THE FOREGOING CHAPTERS WE HAVE CONCENTRATED upon the more important social systems comprising rural society. Where feasible we have attempted to point out major changes and the direction of change for these systems. We shall now view rural society as the social system referent and examine what seem to be among the major changes occurring in rural areas. Rural society, of course, is only a hypothetically potential system, perhaps of the order of those potential systems discussed in the chapter concerning rural regions. It is the system to which the Rural Sociological Society dedicates itself as a field of study. It is a system such as the Nazis attempted to incorporate as an estate and which they called the *Reichsnaehrstand,* or "The Nation's Estate for the Production of Food."

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the direction and strategy of change. First, we are concerned with indicating the major changes in American rural society, organized in relation to the elements of social systems and the processes of change. Second, we wish to stress the analysis of change in the rural, underdeveloped areas of the world. And finally, we wish to emphasize the strategy of change through the mechanism of a case analysis.

CHANGES IN ENDS AND NORMS

Writing in 1928 Sims states:

> In rural America . . . the farmer goes along as he always has and his father had before him and still keeps going . . . the farmer holds tenaciously to old and outgrown ways long after new and better ones are known to him. He fears experiment. . . . His record is generally one of opposition to reform in economic policies. He habitually votes down schemes of tax reform, steadfastly upholds the protective tariff, defeats programs and proposals involving the outlay of money for public welfare unless he can see some direct benefit to himself. . . . Further evidence of dogged adherence to custom is seen in moral and religious behavior.[1]

In the earlier part of the century there were no studies based upon scientific samples which would prove or disprove Sims' description. A recent study by Stouffer[2] indicates that when persons with the same amount of education and living in the same region are compared with respect to their tolerance of non-conformity, farm people are only slightly less tolerant than town or city people. However, all evidence points to the conclusion that the general values of rural and urban people will merge and "contact with people with disturbing and unpopular ideas" will result in little or no difference between farm and urban residents in regard to tolerance. Public opinion polls and surveys in general have shown that the farm population sides with management in their attitudes toward strikes, organized labor, wages, and the socialization of industry. However, the farmers of the nation have several times aligned themselves with the laboring interests in national and state elections.[3]

Those interested in long-range plans involving the introduction of change into rural farming areas, such as those in the United States, will do well to consider the fact that the farm family, despite its decreasing importance, is still usually the most important operating unit and that the value orientation of rural society will be conditioned by the fact that this family includes both the status-roles of manager and laborer. The manager status-role may predispose the farm population to the value orientation of the middle classes. For the American farmer, however, physical labor is respected and the dignity of labor as a value is less common where the family farm is not prevalent. These values persist but the trend in agriculture is toward bigger business operations, a trend which stresses the capitalist and managerial functions.

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[1] Newell LeRoy Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1928), pp. 229-231.

[2] Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 123.

[3] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 32-33.

CHANGES IN TERRITORIALITY AND RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SYSTEMS

Weakening of the local neighborhood. As the rural areas of the world have been subjected to Western technology, one of the most important adjustments has been the decrease in persons engaged in "field" activities—those concerned with the production of food, fiber, and raw materials—and the increase in persons engaged in "center" activities—those concerned with processing and distributing. Migration from rural to urban areas has not only resulted in concentrations of people in metropolitan centers, but these centers have also expanded outward as a result of improved transportation, forming string-along-the-road developments and large concentrations of fringe dwellers. Rural and urban societies are tending to merge spatially.

Rural society as a boundary maintaining social system is less a reality in the United States and most other Western countries today than ever before. Farming as a way of life, or "commitment to farming,"[4] is less a value today than in earlier periods. Nevertheless, in a national study of the evaluation of occupations "farmers were the best boosters of their own profession; 33 per cent of them recommended agriculture as a career."[5]

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[4] Joel Smith found that the extent to which a farmer was committed to farming was related to use of market news and mass media. See Joel Smith, *Organization of the Farm and Mass Communication* (Evanston: Northwestern University doctoral dissertation, 1954), Chapter 4.

In the rural areas not under power-centered control or under a cooperative ideology, the direction of change (especially as in the United States where the isolated holding prevails) may be drastic. In the United States, the neighborhood is rapidly losing its functions to the emerging trade center community and the latter is losing many of its functions to the larger metropolitan area. There has been a rapid decrease in the importance of neighborhood locality groupings as the source of intimacy in interpersonal relations. Power, even that controlling facilities in localities, has been shifting to the larger centers.

The American farmer's most meaningful interaction no longer transpires within the rather limited confines of the neighborhood. No longer is he restricted to the range of the "team-haul." With the appearance of the automobile and the commercialization of agriculture, he has transferred his primary loyalties to a much larger geographical unit than the restricted neighborhood locality.

Neighborhood activities producing intimate association, such as the exchange of work at harvest time, cooperative butchering, and other mutual-aid activities have virtually disappeared. In their place functionally specific associations based upon specialized interests have appeared. Such groups are rarely based upon locality, but rather are composed of members separated by many miles. Farming today requires the farmer to participate in many groups and associations which, because of their specialized character, cannot be structured on a local unit basis.

Declining isolation and the growth of the larger trade center community. With the decline in local group participation, the farmer's relative isolation from the greater society is rapidly disappearing. Rural isolation, a favorite topic of the recent past, is a phenomenon of the past. This is certainly true as compared with many peasant farmers in other parts of the world. "For the past fifty years," Taylor points out, "isolation has been decreasing for all farm people, and it will undoubtedly decrease at an accelerated rate in the future. Social isolation is not measured by mere distance but basically by lack of human contacts. . . . New inventions such as television and airplanes, plus other means of transportation and communication, will undoubtedly maintain this process of change that has been so pronounced during the last few decades."[6]

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[5] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), p. 471.

The most meaningful locality grouping for farmers appears to be, increasingly, the larger trade center community. Within this community, most of the needs of the farmer may be supplied. Many of the open-country social systems such as churches and schools have been transferred to the trade center. The most important economic functions are centered here also.

Owing to the fact of change itself and to regional variations, it is difficult to assign a size to the larger trade centered community. However, it is too large to retain the Gemeinschaft-like intimacy of the old neighborhood and it is composed of urban professionals and other urban-centered occupational groups as well as farmers. Within its boundaries, all services except the highly specialized ones are available. As is true of other groups in American society, the farmer is impressed by specialized services. If financially able he often spurns the local hospital in order to be attended by the world-famous specialist in the big city. Thus the loci, particularly the administrative centers of many of the social systems discussed in this text, are shifting out of rural areas. Such instances raise the question of possible further expansion of the farmer's most meaningful "community." Certainly many nonfarm families living in rural areas are more orientated to metropolitan than rural centers.

Rural family losing some of its primacy. Whereas the family was the prime social system in rural areas of past generations, it is considerably less prominent in the Western world today. In the underdeveloped areas, especially when modern technology is introduced by the communists, political and economic bureaucracies become more important than the family. Throughout the rural world, non-family work groups, political systems, and other organizations are either taking the place of the family or competing with it in the motivation of individual action. The consanguine family form tends to drop "fringe members" such as cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, leaving only the small, highly mobile conjugal family.

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[6] Carl C. Taylor, *et al., Rural Life in The United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 523.

After the advent of modern technology into peasant society, social rank is usually more dependent upon achievement than upon family connections and ascription imposed by the family. Informal friendship groups remain important, but power is less determined by kinship than previously. The declining death rates, subsequent decrease in the birth rate, and increased mobility accompanies the rationalization and urbanization of rural areas.

CHANGES IN STATUS-ROLES, SOCIAL RANK, AND RELATED NORMS

Not only in the United States but throughout many rural areas of the world, agriculture is becoming increasingly professionalized, with a proliferation of status-roles, social ranks, and established normative patterns surrounding these positions. In few countries are these trends more pronounced than in rural America. The increased necessity for training on the part of the average farmer, as well as the increasing number of professional persons and organizations serving the farmer, implies accretion to the number of status-roles and social ranks within American agriculture. The norms requiring the farmer to specialize have successfully neutralized those requiring the farmer to be a jack-of-all-trades. Consequently the practice of many rural arts and crafts have been relegated to earlier decades. Likewise, although businessmen in towns also operate farms, professionals serving farmers have become increasingly specialized. There are relatively fewer teachers who are also farmers' wives, fewer county agents, veterinarians, doctors, and other professionals who do not attempt to specialize.

NORMATIVE SYSTEM REQUIRES INCREASED TRAINING

To fill his status-role, the farmer of fifty years ago was able to learn from his father the essentials of farming. Many of the practices were traditional, and, since the farm was largely self-sufficient, little need arose to consider alternative plans of action in response to the market. The status-role of the farmer today requires more specialized education than ever before.

A general increase in the educational level of both farm and nonfarm populations has taken place. Median levels of attainment for all population groups have shown marked gains. The farmer with a college degree in agriculture is not uncommon in rural areas, and more and more farmers are attending short courses. The number of pupils taking vocational agriculture, for example, increased from 31,000 in 1920 to approximately 765,000 in 1950.[7]

One of the clearest evidences of the elaboration of status-roles and social rank within agriculture is the specialization available at the Land-Grant Colleges of the nation. As indicated by Ross, the Land-Grant College did not appear as the result of rank and file pressure on the part of farmers: "The invariable experience of administrators and educators was that the farmers themselves were the hardest to convince of the need and possibility of occupational training; and editorials, letters to agricultural papers, and discussions in state and local societies and by other farmers' meetings were all to the same effect—an indifference, suspicion, or open contempt for the new-fangled methods of learning to farm."[8]

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[7] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1952* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 131.

[8] E. D. Ross, *Democracy's College* (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1942), p. 96.

In 1903, only 2,405 students were enrolled in colleges of agriculture. Today full four-year degree-bearing programs are offered in such specialized areas as farm management, animal husbandry, agronomy, and poultry management. In 1951, slightly more than 10,400 bachelor's degrees were earned in agriculture and animal husbandry. In addition, 1,300 master's degrees and 362 doctor's degrees were earned in these fields in a single year.[9]

In the opinion of the authors, there is a growing identification on the part of farmers with specialty groups of one kind or another. It would seem, for example, that the farmer increasingly wishes to identify himself as a Jersey cattle breeder, a Leghorn poultry raiser, or a citrus fruit grower. At the same time, it seems to the authors that farmers do not wish to be known as or regarded as simply farmers. The identification with a specialty is thought to magically remove some of the stigma associated with general farming which is less professionalized.

Increase in specialized status-roles and organizations serving farmers. As suggested previously, the increasing number of status-roles serving in consultative, advisory, and regulatory capacities, bears witness to agriculture's increasing professionalization. In addition, the large farmers' organization, as well as hundreds of specialized farmers' associations, serve to represent the farmer politically and to increase his identification as an agriculturist. The growth of the Cooperative Extension Service with many subject matter specialists exemplifies the increasing importance of specialists in agriculture.

The American farmer is looking more and more to the farmers' organizations and his specialized associations, usually staffed with college trained experts, to speak for him. The majority of American farmers find that they are compelled to identify with such groups in order to obtain political representation.

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[9] See *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 128. See also Charles M. Hardin, Freedom in Agricultural Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 62.

Declining homogeneity of rural status-roles. Another noteworthy change in rural life in America is the declining occupational homogeneity in rural areas. Although some of the data one would like to have are not available, it is amply clear that rural areas no longer are the exclusive domains of the status-role of agriculturalist. Among the evidences are the increase in part-time farmers, and the growing number of persons merely residing in rural areas.

Increase in part-time farming status-role. In spite of the declining number of farms in the United States, a growing proportion of farm operators are supplementing their incomes from off-farm work. Even in the last 20 years the increase has been dramatic. In 1929 approximately one-eighth of all farm operators reported 100 days or more of off-farm work. In 1949 the proportion of farmers reporting 100 days or more of work off the farm had doubled.

The Extension Service in many parts of the country is confronted with the problem of distinguishing rural from urban persons in its program. This and related problems are reported by a home demonstration agent in Pennsylvania in her comments concerning changes in extension work in the last ten years. Among the changes, she notes the following: "We are working with more 'urban' women," and "more women are working outside the home." The latter fact, she writes, has brought about the following changes in the situation of farm women: "(*a*) they have less time to participate in Home Economics Extension activities; (*b*) they are less interested in learning how to save money, i.e., by reupholstering, refinishing furniture, or making clothes, because they can buy these things; (*c*) more food is bought, less produced at home; meals may be 'catch as catch can,' and nutrition is less well planned; and (*d*) children are getting less care and guidance."[10]

Increasing use of rural areas as a place of residence. The urbanward migration and the consequent growth of cities and their subsequent "explosion" into the countryside have resulted in an encroachment of rural areas, and the appearance of non-agriculturalists and "partly-farmer" status-roles throughout the country is commonplace. Unfortunately, the data are not sufficiently specific to identify these persons as carefully as one might like to identify them. The Census categorizes this group as "rural" but not as farmers. As we have pointed out previously, the rural-nonfarm population in 1950 was considerably larger than the rural-farm population. The growth has been phenomenal. The rural-nonfarm population numbered approximately 24,000,000 in 1930 and 39,000,000 in 1950, only twenty years later. Even with the change in urban definition which served to include suburban populations with the urban and to remove this group from the rural-nonfarm category, the rural-nonfarm population numbered slightly more than 31,000,000.

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[10] Letter from Mrs. Byron Konhaus, Home Demonstration Agent in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Who are these people? We cannot say definitely. Certainly large numbers are those who simply prefer living in the small town and in the country. Some are the professionals, already referred to, who serve the farmer. Others are the urban-employed who have taken up rural residence to avoid high rents or for a multitude of other specific reasons. Regardless of the precise composition of this group, the farm areas of the nation have been rendered less homogeneous than formerly.

"Jack-of-all-trades" status-role rapidly disappearing. The disappearance of many of the arts and crafts from American rural life is certainly among the noteworthy changes. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that the status-role of farmer in the not-too-distant past was that of "jack-of-all-trades" and often a very skillful one. Because of the scarcity and high cost of the specialist status-role, the farmer became his own blacksmith, machinist, plumber, carpenter, veterinarian, tanner, and shoe and harness maker. The farmer's wife was her own baker, seamstress, milliner, decorator, and nurse. Anyone acquainted with rural life today knows that few farmers' wives and fewer farmers are skillful in any of these arts and crafts.

The farmer of today is inextricably involved in the social and economic systems of the money economy and expects to buy those services that he formerly performed for himself. Furthermore, many of these services have moved from rural areas. Much of the processing formerly performed on the farm is now performed in factories or other commercialized or professionalized systems in the urban center.

One of the most striking examples of the loss, or at least the drastic decline, of a rural craft is the instance of home weaving. Although some Extension Services have attempted to reintroduce weaving as a home art, it is not commonplace in rural America. Unlike the Scandinavian countries, where weaving is considered an art and is widely practiced, in America homewoven materials have been largely displaced by factory-produced textiles. In Finland, for example, most farm girls know how to weave and appreciate it as an artistic expression. Before marriage, a Finnish farm girl is expected to have a hope chest filled with linens, many of which she has woven herself. Often before marriage she will have made a *ryijy,* an especially difficult and artistically valued wall hanging.

Increasing complexity of social rank. The myriad changes in progress and the great internal variations throughout the nation make it difficult to see clearly the nature of the emerging rural class structure. In all probability one may never be able to speak of the rural class structure broadly but rather must limit the discussion to a particular region or rural area. Although we cannot point with clarity to the nature of the overall change, nonetheless, changes in the rural class structure have occurred and are now in the process of occurring.

In an average Midwestern rural community of fifty years ago, the class structure was relatively simple. The farm owners occupied the highest social class position. Within this group, differentiation was based largely upon wealth, success as a farmer, long-time residence in and adherence to the norms of the community, and active participation in community affairs. Tenants generally occupied an intermediate position and might anticipate attaining farm owner status with the passage of time. The lowest position in the class structure was occupied by farm laborers, generally young unmarried men, who lived in the same household with the employer. The farm laborer or hired hand might reasonably aspire to become a farm owner and, in fact, frequently succeeded in passing through the stages of worker to owner, a process designated as "climbing the agricultural ladder." In such a class structure, the vertical extension was minimal, that is, the social distance between the farm owner and his hired hand was not great. In many instances tenants and farm hands were blood relatives of owners for whom they worked or from whom they rented.

In the Midwestern community today, new elements have been introduced which complicate such an easy description of social rank. Although differences in social rank are less here than in any other part of the country, nonetheless distinct gradations exist. In his study of an Iowa community, for example, Bell found the town banker and his associates at the top, followed by owners, tenants, and farm laborers.[11] However, tenants often out-ranked owners, and this study showed that permanence and stability figured heavily in determining social position. Unlike the Midwestern community of fifty years ago, the present community is very likely to contain part-time farmers, professionals serving the farmers, numerous "farmers" who own land as a plaything or as a showpiece, and many newly arrived rural-nonfarm people. In addition, there may well be seasonal migrant workers. Precisely how these elements affect the social rank hierarchy we do not know. The possibility is rather good, it would seem, that greater cash earnings of the part-time farmer and the wealth of the "gentleman farmer," combined with the universally low social rank of the migrant, have increased the number of social classes and the vertical extension of the social class structure, as have the newcomers who may not be a part of the farmer's reference group. Sometimes this results in two or more systems which serve as referents for placing families.[12]

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[11] Earl H. Bell, "Social Stratification in a Small Community," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXXVIII (1934), p. 156-164.

Social rank in the South, historically precisely differentiated, is changing rapidly. Undoubtedly the recent mechanization of cotton farming has displaced and, temporarily at least, has reduced the social rank of many. Considering the rate of migration from the rural South, one may question whether the problem is a long-time rural one or an urban one. Smith regards the mechanization in the South as an evidence of increased rural stratification and believes that the sharecroppers are being reduced to the status of casual agricultural laborers.[13] Unquestionably, new social rankings and alignments will eventually emerge in the South which will bear small resemblance to those forming a part of the old plantation system. Throughout the nation the Supreme Court decision against racial segregation in the long run will certainly speed up the liquidation of caste barriers.

Differences in social rank are perhaps maximized in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas where the farm community may consist of the wealthy owner of a citrus plantation, the manager or supervisor of work crews, and the migrant workers themselves. In this instance, social rank differences are great, since the migrant workers are often set apart on the basis of nationality and color. Such conditions in American rural life represent relatively recent developments.

CHANGES IN FACILITIES

Few changes in American rural life are more dramatic than the increase in the farmer's facilities, that is, in equipment, improved seeds, livestock and fertilizer, and in household conveniences. The improvement in the farmer's level of living is the most easily documented change occurring in rural America. This change has come about in part through improved technology, specialization, commercialization, and dependence upon the market.

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[12] Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangement," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (April, 1953), pp. 149-162. See also W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), pp. 140, 141 and 165; and Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. XII, No. 4 (December, 1947), pp. 364-375.

[13] T. Lynn Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 366.

Increasing mechanization. One of the most striking evidences of increasing mechanization is the increase in tractors, on one hand, and the decline in the number of horses and mules, on the other. The number of farms reporting one or more tractors rose from about 1 per cent in 1910 to approximately 50 per cent in 1950. At the same time, the number of horses and mules on farms declined from approximately 27,000,000 in 1920 to about 8,000,000 in 1950.

Associated with this change has been a rapid increase in farm production as well as a decrease in the number of man-hours of labor on farms. As Raper points out, work animals on some American farms "are little more than 'boarders,' or even museum pieces."[14] Many American farmers, the remnants of a passing generation, resist disposing of their horses, since they symbolize "real farm work." On many such farms chores are created solely for the sake of keeping horses active.

Power-driven machinery of all kinds has increased enormously on American farms. Milking machines, combines, and corn pickers, virtually non-existent in 1910, were widespread in 1950. Each had increased by more than three-fold in the last decade. Other farm machinery increased as well. According to Raper, approximately 7,000 mechanical cotton pickers and 15,000 mechanical cotton strippers were on farms in 1951. In 1950 only 8 per cent of the cotton crop was mechanically harvested. One year later 17 per cent of the crop was mechanically harvested.[15]

Another trend indicative of increased mechanization and commercialization is the increase of motor trucks on farms. In 1930 there were fewer than one million and in 1940 only slightly more than one million reported. By 1950, however, the number had more than doubled. The value of farm implements and machinery, unadjusted for price changes, increased slightly more than five times in the last decade.[16]

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[14] Arthur F. Raper, *A Graphic Presentation of Rural Trends* (Washington, D.C.· Extension Service and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1952), p. 16.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Rising rural levels of living. Although most indexes of living levels show increases, great variations are shown for farm groups in the various types of farming areas. The farm-operator level of living index is relatively low in the South and Southwest. The highest levels of living are found in the Corn Belt, the Northeastern Dairy Areas, and the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. Furthermore, rural living levels vary within these areas depending upon racial and occupational class.

In spite of internal variations, however, levels of living have risen remarkably. An especially critical index of the level of living is electricity, since so many farm and household machines, mass media such as radio and television, and other appliances are dependent upon electric power. In 1930, 7 per cent of all farms had electricity; by 1950 the percentage had risen to approximately 80.

The proportion of farmers owning at least one radio has also had a dramatic increase. In 1930 only about one of every five farm operators reported having a radio; by 1950 more than nine of every ten farmers reported owning this level of living item. Of lesser magnitude has been the increase in the proportion of farm operators reporting running water in the house. The increase was from 16 per cent in 1930 to slightly over 40 per cent in 1950.

The increase in the farmer's material possessions has generally followed that of the "pace-setter," the city. As Monroe points out: "Consumption patterns of farm families have changed more than those of urban families, lessening the differences that existed between the two groups forty years ago."[17]

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[16] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1952, op. cit.,* p. 596.

[17] Day Monroe, "Patterns of Living of Farm Families," *Farmers in a Changing World* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 849.

The great advance in level of living, as evidenced by larger inventories of material possessions, is of course related to income. The farmer has been in a relatively prosperous position in the last decade as compared with earlier periods. Clothing,[18] food, housing, and other elements of the level of living of rural as compared with urban families of the same income level differ less and less with each succeeding decade.

CHANGES IN POWER AND SANCTIONS

It has already been mentioned that improved transportation has influenced such power-centered neighborhoods and communities as *haciendas*, plantations, Mexican *ejidos*, Russian collectives, and Palestine cooperative farms differently than it has the power-diffused communities; power has been shifting gradually to the same centers to which the economic and professional services used by farmers have moved.

In many instances power is even further removed. It may reside in the state or national capital. Whereas, once a school board comprised of farmers controlled the district school, and local farmers on ditch and road boards controlled irrigation, drainage, and roads—now control most frequently resides in the trade center, county seat, or in state and federal offices. Since the great depression, such important concerns as acreage control and allotment has in large measure been controlled by government bureaus in Washington or their regional subsidiaries. Although there are no figures available, the authors feel that most of the systems and agencies which serve farmers are controlled not by farmers but by others. Seldom are these officials elected from the small Gemeinschaft-like neighborhood groups which once prevailed in rural America.

Perhaps the most telling reward to any occupational group for its contribution to the national life is its income. In 1952, the median family income in rural-farm areas was $2,226 as compared with $4,111 in urban and rural-nonfarm areas. More than one-fourth of all farm families are reported as having low earnings—a net cash family income from all sources of under $1,000 in 1950.[19] The 1,500,000 low-income farm families, many of whom reside in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, the Cotton Belt, and southern Range-Livestock Area, have high birth rates and provide more than their share of the nation's manpower. These low-income, poverty-ridden, "cultural islands" represent underdeveloped areas within the most progressive agricultural economy in the world. The situation is summarized succinctly in the *Report on Problems of Low-Income Farmers:*

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[18] Gregory P. Stone and William Form, *Clothing Inventories and Preference Among Rural and Urban Families* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Technical Bulletin 246, 1955); See also William Form and Gregory P. Stone, *The Social Significance of Clothing in Occupational Life* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Technical Bulletin 247, 1955).

> It may be stated as a broad premise that most of the large group of farmers on low-income farms have not shared much in the great advance of agricultural techniques. Many such farms are too small to fit the mechanized farming of the present day. Some of the soils are unproductive. Some of the farmers are old or incapacitated. On the other hand, the large numbers of able-bodied men and women in this group present a challenge to official and private agencies to point the way, if possible, to better incomes and living.
>
> There are nearly a thousand counties in the United States where more than half of the farmers are mainly dependent on the income from small, poorly paying farms. What they are up against, in innumerable cases, is lack of enough good land, lack of equipment, lack of credit facilities, and often lack of the management information and skill which might open wider opportunity to them. In other cases, part- or full-time off-farm employment may be their best opportunity. With better information, training, sometimes credit, sometimes job opportunities off the farm, they can achieve a reasonably good living. They can thereby contribute a larger part to the community and national welfare.[20]

Like other societies known to the authors, American society is characterized by a sanction system prejudicial to rural people. As rural and urban societies continue to merge, the existing conditions may be mitigated.

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[19] *Development of Agriculture's Human Resources: A Report on Problems of Low-Income Farmers* (Washington, D.C.: USDA, 1955), p. 1.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

THE PROCESSES OF CHANGE

Communication. In most respects rural areas continue, despite modern technology, to be comparatively disadvantaged in the effectiveness of communication through either mass media or through formal organizations. One important reason is related to the problem of space and its effect on both communication and organization. Everyone is aware that man is a space-bound creature and that no dreams of magic carpets or supermen change this. However, in an age of supersonic speeds, atomic energy, and mass media, we may forget that organizations, to function effectively, require a minimum number of participants, members, or consumers in a relatively small area.

A very large segment of rural society in the United States lives in service units or trade center communities which have fewer people than these minima prescribe. From what the authors know of rural and urban society they believe that if natural or enemy forces were able to destroy the effectiveness of mass media and word of mouth had to be relied upon in the communication of information, a larger proportion of rural than urban residents would be left uninformed. This is true despite the fact that communication through informal and kinship channels is relatively effective in rural areas. Whether these disadvantaging factors will be overcome by technology, only time can tell. Certainly the last decades have greatly lessened the difficulties of communication in rural areas.

Decision-making. Obviously decision-making, perhaps the most important process for a change agent who must work with rural people, is intimately bound up with status-roles and power structure. In power-centered communities of both the present and the past, it is not difficult to determine the important status-roles with which to work. In power-diffused communities, the situation has become more complicated.

Preiss,[21] for example, found that most successful county agricultural agents varied their mode of articulating their programs, depending upon the balance of power held by social systems, such as local farmers' organizations, and economic groupings in relation to the bureaucratic organizations representing agriculture. Whereas in earlier times several outstanding farmers could make or break an agent, today the successful county agent usually resembles the skilled statesman in his knowledge of the local power structure and his ability to mediate his own activities in relation to it. In one county, the most powerful group for his consideration may be a rural centered farmers' organization; in another county the elected county officials are most important; in still another, the various state and federal governmental organizations may be important. Aligning with one social system often automatically alienates certain other systems. In most cases, successful change agents are able to avoid aligning with powerful but conflicting groups, and usually they have the firm support of many systems for their programs. In any case, the multi-organizational aspect of modern Western rural society represents a very complicated picture.

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[21] Jack J. Preiss, *The Functions of Relevant Power and Authority Groups in the Evaluation of County Agent Performance* (East Lansing: Michigan State University doctoral dissertation, 1954).

Boundary maintenance. There is very great difference in the extent of boundary maintenance of various sub-groups within rural society. The Old Order Amish, for example, may represent one extreme. In this instance no child can enter any occupation other than farming, except for a few subsidiary occupations such as blacksmithing. Dress, grooming, home, and farm equipment practices set the Amish off distinctly from others. Affiliation with formal organizations other than the Amish church is strictly forbidden. Violation of any of the many taboos designed to maintain social and cultural boundaries is supported by such powerful sanctions as shunning in which the members of the sect refuse to interact with the offender.[22] Another extreme may be illustrated by the fact that in most parts of the

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[22] Loomis and Beegle, *op cit.*, p. 11 ff; and Walter Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* Rural Life Studies (Washington, D.C.: USDA; September, 1942).

United States any urban dweller of any class can find those whose life styles are similar to his own, and with the proper entree can become intimate.

The study by Stouffer[23] seems to support the thesis that boundary maintenance against deviant behavior and attitudes is still relatively strong among rural residents, particularly those who attend church, and this holds especially for those with lowest educational attainment and travel contacts. Nevertheless, the authors maintain that the trend in rural society is for increased contacts outside the community of birth and increasing secularization. Boundary maintenance, though still notable, is decreasing.

Social-cultural linkage. One of the chief theses of this book is that the older rural Gemeinschaft-like society is losing its functional diffuseness, its particularism, its familism, its power, and its affectivity in personal relations as the Gesellschaft-like society begins to have primacy. Technology and bureaucracy have changed rural locality groups and families, so that even if only farmers lived in rural areas, social-cultural linkage would have been achieved between city and country. But in most of the regions of the United States, the cities have spilled over into the countryside, so that in many states the rural-nonfarm population outnumbers the rural-farm population. Social-cultural linkage between rural and urban culture is proceeding at an unprecedented rate in the United States. It is also proceeding at an accelerated rate in most parts of the world.

TECHNOLOGICAL DIFFUSION TO UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS

Impending rapid socio-cultural change. Few activities of rural sociologists and anthropologists are more important than their efforts to bring the benefits of technology as developed in the Western world to those living in the underdeveloped

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[23] Stouffer, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 130 and 155.

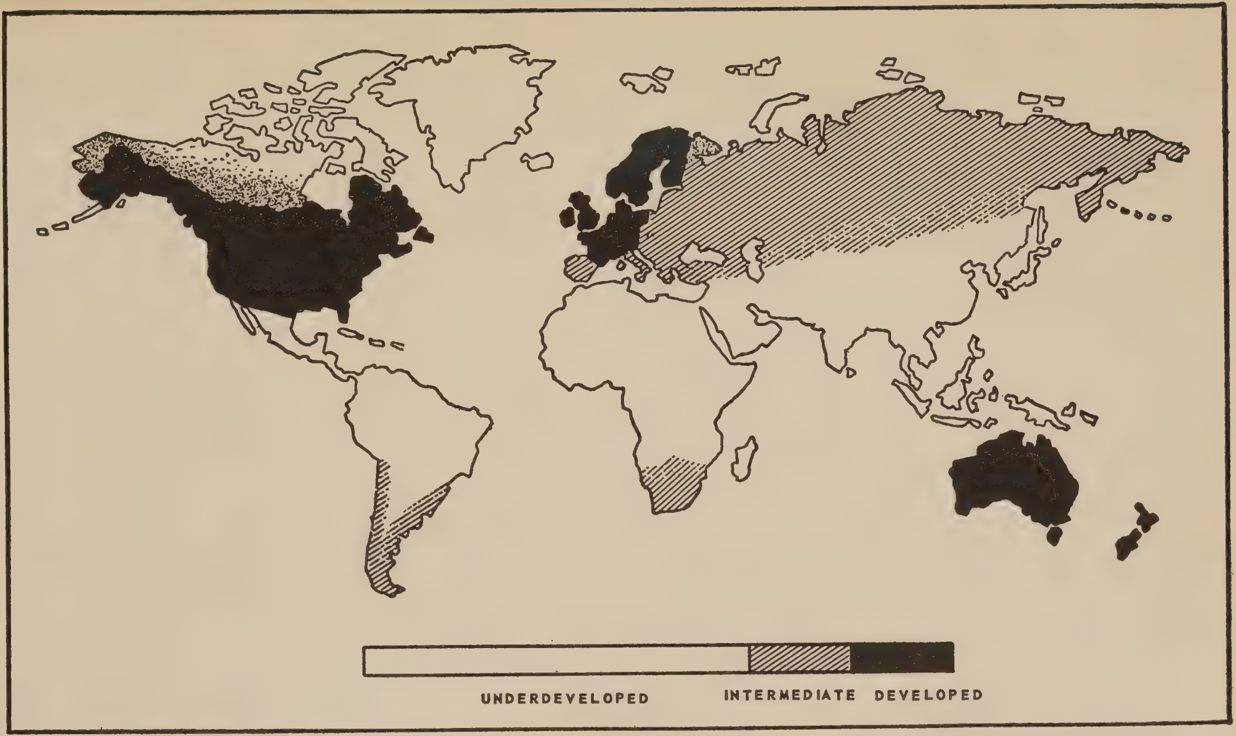
UNDERDEVELOPED
INTERMEDIATE
DEVELOPED

Figure 44. Map Showing Areas of the World Classified as Underdeveloped, Intermediate, and Developed. (Adapted from *The Point Four Program*, Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Department of State, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949.)

areas. Two-thirds of the people of the world, most of them rural people, live in underdeveloped areas confronted with "a self-perpetuating vicious circle of poverty, disease, hunger, ignorance, and lack of technological skills and capital to improve their lot."[24] Various efforts have demonstrated that the knowledge and facilities are available to bring the benefits of Western technology to the underdeveloped areas. Rural sociologists and anthropologists are assisting in facilitating their adoption and are developing knowledge of the effects brought about by this adoption.[25]

Figure 44 indicates the location of the "have-not" peoples of the world and Table 30 compares conditions in those parts of the world classified as underdeveloped, intermediate, and developed. Much of South and Central America, Africa, and Asia, it may be noted, falls into the underdeveloped category. These areas are seriously disadvantaged with respect to food supply, economic factors, health indexes, and education, as summarized in Table 30.

TABLE 30

FOOD SUPPLY, ECONOMIC, HEALTH, AND EDUCATIONAL INDEXES FOR UNDERDEVELOPED, INTERMEDIATE, AND DEVELOPED AREAS

Category of Countries	*Calories per Capita*	*Income per Capita (U.S. dollars equivalent per annum)*	*Industrial Investment per Worker (Index = 100)*	*Physicians per 100,000*	*Life Expectancy at Birth*	*Illiteracy (in per cent)*
Underdeveloped . .	2,150	$ 41	11	17	30	78
Intermediate	2,760	154	39	78	52	20
Developed	3,040	461	100	106	63	5

SOURCE: *The Point Four Program,* Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Department of State (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

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[24] *The Point Four Program,* Publication 3347, Economic Cooperation Series 23, Division of Publications, Department of State (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

[25] See Charles P. Loomis, *et al., Turrialba, Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953); Edward T. Hall, Jr. and George L. Trager, "Human Nature at Home and Abroad" (Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, 1953); and Bert F. Hoselitz, editor, *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

Possible consequences of rapid change. After discussing the difficulties of getting people who may want to be free from disease to understand and appreciate such subgoals as cleanliness of the house, a recent work discussing technological change states: "On the other hand, they [people in underdeveloped areas] may also have to be led away from ruthless adoption of Western sanitary regulations, which would be far more disruptive to their way of life than any gain they could possibly derive."[26] Most Westerners who attempt to work in underdeveloped areas find that they must work behind a curtain of sanitary engineers and standards and that often they are unable to adjust to the food and drink offered by those living in two-thirds of the world's population. This curtain is perhaps more effective in producing isolation and preventing face-to-face communication of Western technicians with the peoples of the underdeveloped areas than any other single consideration. Introduction of these hygienic procedures into the underdeveloped areas would, of course, create curtains between other underdeveloped areas, and, as indicated below, it would certainly increase population replacement rates.

As pointed out by Hoselitz,[27] the consequences of changes introduced into underdeveloped areas often cannot be accurately anticipated. Industrialization and urbanization, according to Hoselitz, may be attended by various social costs such as increased personal and group disorganization resulting from *anomie*.

The authors believe that the tremendous impending changes for the two-thirds of the world classified as underdeveloped, represent what we refer to as change from the Gemeinschaft- to the Gesellschaft-like forms of society. Whether our model of change is that of revolution staged and implemented by those following the communist line—as in the cases of Russia and

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[26] Edward H. Spicer, *Human Problems in Technological Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), p. 10.

[27] Hoselitz, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

China—or without revolution as in the case of Japan—basic changes in value orientation and social structure are involved.[28]

Some anticipated changes in underdeveloped areas that are Gemeinschaft-like. Those areas which follow the model of Japan without a structural revolution along the communistic lines must anticipate rapid changes not unlike many of those described in this chapter. The most important social systems that probably will receive lesser emphasis following change will be those carrying on the religious and familial functions. Those to receive greater emphasis will be systems related to the production, distribution, financial, and professional functions. Rural locality systems of all types, particularly neighborhood groupings, will become of lesser importance. Locality systems of cities and towns will become of greater importance. These same changes are to be anticipated in those societies which follow the communistic road to industrial technology. However, in such societies, at least for a time, the governmental and production functions must merge and be handled by those in the status-roles to which high rank, power, and facilities are given.

Whether the societies follow the communistic pattern or not, as they move from the Gemeinschaft-like to the Gesellschaft-like pattern, all the elements of the various social systems will change or receive different emphasis. Retaining the status quo will receive less emphasis, and achievement more emphasis, as end or goal. Large-scale bureaucratic organizations will increasingly carry on the important functions in both peace and war. The norms of efficiency and other universal principles and concomitant affective neutrality will be given higher priority; particularistic considerations of a personal or individual nature, a lower priority. Relationships and performance involved in most status-roles will be evaluated in terms of achievement and according to universalistic standards. Power and social rank will tend to be allocated and depend less on familistic or other types of ascription and more on achievement. This does not mean that the societies will lose all their Gemeinschaft-like qualities. These qualities will merely have lower priority and even the family, which will usually be the system which retains the most of these qualities, will be required to "achieve" in providing those instrumental and expressive needs brought in part by the changes. If it is to be the chief source of affection in an affectively neutral bureaucratic and affectively neutral outside world, members of specific families may demand that they be provided this need. Thus, divorce and separation may be common, but the family may continue to perform important functions. Nevertheless, the social systems which carry the responsibilities of the professions and vocations, which come more and more to operate outside the family will receive much higher priority than the family, the dominant system in most underdeveloped areas.

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[28] Marion J. Levy, "Some Sources of Vulnerability of the Structures of Relatively Non-Industrialized Societies to Those of Highly Industrialized Societies," in Hoselitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-125.

Demographic considerations. It has been estimated that by the year 2000 there will be 3,870 million people, or 1,490 million more than in 1949. A large share, 1,310 million of the 1,490 million, will be contributed by the industrially underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and South and Central America.[29] In many of the underdeveloped areas, death rates have been reduced so radically in the last few years that the population is growing by at least 2 per cent per year. One source indicates that countries such as Mexico, Malaya and Ceylon will double their populations in the next twenty-five years.[30] The same United Nations' report[31] summarizes the population problems of underdeveloped areas to be as follows: first, high birth rates create a heavy load of dependent children per adult: second, falling death rates combined with continued high birth rates bring about rapid population increase; and third, excessive density of rural population in relation to cultivated area.

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[29] Stephen Rausenbush, *People, Food, Machines* (Washington, D.C.: The Public Affairs Institute, 1950), p. 11.

[30] *Population Growth and the Standard of Living in Under-Developed Countries* (New York: United Nations, 1954), p. 3.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Such citations leave no doubt that we must anticipate demographic changes of great magnitude. Whether or not the tremendous increase in population (anticipated by the introduction of modern technology into the underdeveloped areas and calculated to reduce death rates faster than birth rates) will follow the pattern of the West which resulted in a four-fold increase in Europe and its colonies between 1750 and 1900 and then tapered off as levels of living rose, is debated by writers on the subject. Vogt,[32] for example, feels that within fifty years the world cannot support 3 billion people at anything but coolie standards. He anticipates that the increasing population will absorb the gains in technology, levels of living will be depressed, and resources plundered. Other writers are less pessimistic, often basing their predictions upon the relatively rapid rate with which birth levels fell in western European countries.[33]

The authors believe that if birth rates are to fall as rapidly as death rates in the underdeveloped areas, a basic change in value orientation must accompany the introduction of modern technology. If people occupying the important status-roles of the various social systems are required by the nature of society to exercise rational control over their activities, if the culture places high value upon achievement and instrumental orientation, and if these values prevail in the areas under consideration, improved communication may make the impact of these values considerably greater. People may attempt to control the birth rates to improve their own and their children's level of living. But there must be the desire provided by the value orientation of the culture as well as the facilities for doing so.

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[32] William Vogt, *Road to Survival* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1948), p. 279.

[33] See Rausenbush, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1942), p. 152 and p. 217.

A CASE STUDY IN THE STRATEGY OF CHANGE

The case study quoted below reports the strategy or means used by a change agent to achieve social-cultural linkage with a target system. The strategy employed by a county agent to achieve acceptance of himself and his program in a Mennonite community, as analyzed by Preiss, is akin to the strategy required by many other change systems not only in the United States but also in underdeveloped areas.

THE BISHOP'S NOD[34]

The particular set of circumstances we are interested in are related to the efforts of a County Extension Agent, whom we shall call Barton, to secure the adoption of a new breed of dairy cattle by the Mennonite farmers who dominated sparsely settled Oak County. Only about ten percent of the county land area was concentrated in a small, unified section, as was often the case in a Mennonite community. Agent Barton, as representative of the change system, was faced with the task of penetrating the target system to bring about the change. This initial penetration was crucial, since the acceptance of future changes would likely hinge upon the degree of success attained in the first instance.

In keeping with Extension system norms, Barton was given a great deal of freedom in selecting his work procedures and in carrying them out. As one of the most highly regarded agricultural agents in the state, he had considerable confidence in himself and looked upon the task as a challenge to his personal ability to get results. He realized that the Mennonites were distrustful of the aims and motives of outsiders, particularly if the latter had some official or governmental affiliation. Furthermore, he knew that a vast gap existed between his own cultural patterns and those of his target clients. It was impossible to openly coerce, or even cajole, the community into accepting Extension help because Extension system ethics forbade the use of overt force or subterfuge. Voluntary cooperation somehow had to be elicited from a wary, close-knit group of people who were likely to consider any overture, no matter how well-meaning, as a threat to their group values.

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[34] Jack J. Preiss, "The Bishop's Nod: Social Change in a 'Cross-Cultural' Situation," unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University.

The process by which change was achieved. Barton decided early that he would have to gain legitimacy in terms of the values of the target system, rather than those of the change system to which he was administratively attached. Furthermore, he believed that if he could win acceptance as a *person,* he was more likely to gain subsequent acceptance of his change *ideas.* In other words, it was important to sell himself before trying to sell his program.

Therefore, during his first months as Oak County agent,[35] Barton virtually discarded his role as change agent and devoted himself to meeting and talking with target system members on their own social terms. He spent a good deal of time in the county, attended every possible function, and lost few opportunities to visit and converse with the farmers. Before long, he gained a large amount of information about Mennonite behavior and values, and had a wide personal acquaintance. Keeping notes, he discovered who the leaders were and how they maintained control. Since he had a vast store of instrumental knowledge about modern agricultural methods and current research, the image he strove to create of himself was that of competent, hard-working farmer.

Realizing that he could never, in most respects, become a Mennonite, he found a universe of discourse within the occupational enterprise of farming itself. Since farming ability and material success were virtues in the target system, Barton sought *access* to the system by exhibiting these virtues. Exchanging ideas and experiences, man-to-man, he was able to counteract the notion that he represented an onerous out-group. Through successful occupational communication, the cultural differences between the change and target systems became less glaring. However, a slight cultural assist was operative in the fact that the ethnic background of the agent was the same as that of the Mennonites, and the agent was more acceptable as a "landsman" (countryman) than as a foreigner.

Throughout this access maneuver, Barton never projected his Extension work into the course of events. Even when asked about specific matters, he was careful not to "sell," but only to give an adequate reply. As time went on, he noticed that inquiries about Extension became more frequent, and questions less guarded than before, particularly about the new dairy breed he had introduced in neighboring Aspen County. Finally, one of the community leaders expressed a desire to visit some of the Aspen farms which had adopted the breed. At this point, Barton felt that access had at least been achieved. Obviously, the Mennonites had been discussing Extension among themselves, and had decided it was worth looking into from an economic standpoint. Yet Barton was careful not to appear over-eager. In fact, he suggested that the trip be delayed until the special farming problems in Oak County could be considered. Then, he said, more value could be derived from such a tour. Barton knew that the proposed visit would be crucial for the long-range acceptance of the Extension system, so he was determined that the receptivity of the target system should be at its highest point during the tour. By now, he was aware that decision-making in the target system on matters of major community policy was largely in the hands of the bishop who, at the time, was a man in his seventies. Thus, the key to legitimizing the change process was to convince the bishop that such changes were desirable and proper.

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[35] Prior to his assignment in Oak County, Barton had been a successful agent in neighboring Aspen County for a number of years.

In subsequent weeks, Barton presented much data to show the similarity between the physical, social, and economic characteristics of Oak and Aspen Counties. His aim, naturally, was to suggest that what worked for Aspen would work for Oak. He also carefully laid the groundwork for the trip, choosing the demonstration farms as much for the personal qualities of the owners as for the proficiency of the unit. When the time for the visit arrived, the group of Mennonites (not all of whom were community leaders) was escorted by Barton who, for the first time began to actively "sell" Extension ideas, since he could now show concrete results while doing so. The climax of the tour came when the bishop, gazing at the herd of one of the most successful dairymen using the new breed, nodded his head approvingly, and said, "I think that if I were a young man this is what I would do." To those present, the decision was quite clear, and Barton felt certain that he had now legitimized the Extension-type of change program in terms of the value structure of the target system.

During the next few years, a large number of Extension projects were introduced into Oak County. Home-built barns, trench silos, broiler raising, hatching egg production, all received strong support, and Oak County became known throughout the state as one of the most active and successful Extension-work areas. However, Barton was not content to gain access and legitimacy for himself as an individual. He wished to make the Extension symbol interchangeable with his own physical presence. Therefore, he continuously built up close relationships with several key men, including the manager of the creamery and the owner of the largest feed store and granary. In addition, he selected several promising young farmers as his personal "proteges." To these he gave special attention and assistance in order to show how a maximum use of Extension services could produce dramatic improvement in an agricultural enterprise.

Eventually, Barton was able to use his relationships with the community leaders and the "proteges" as a substitute for his own presence in the county. The channels of communication within the target system were so well developed that he needed only to contact his key people in order to be "heard" throughout the county. In fact, the farmers expected to hear about Extension plans, projects, meetings, and so forth through the key people rather than from the agent directly. The "lieutenants" could be depended upon to do the necessary organizational and contact work to assist Extension activities, although Barton was very careful not to create the impression that they were his subordinates. Nevertheless, the community as a whole was sufficiently favorable toward Extension work that it was almost assumed to be beneficial, per se. As a result of this process of instituting agricultural change in the target system, Barton was proud of the fact that, Extension-wise, "Oak County can now run by itself" without any applied effort on his part.

In attempting to account for his successful penetration of the Mennonite community, the agent placed great emphasis upon the proper timing of major moves and the persistence of effort in the face of momentary set-backs. These qualities were the result of "feel" and experience rather than of formulas, and could not be learned in an academic sense. Thus, by a series of planned maneuvers which, to the target system, appeared to be "the natural course of events," Barton was able to induce desired responses and attitudes which facilitated each "next step" in his over-all strategy. He had to wage a deliberate campaign without exhibiting any negative motivation or artificiality. In the end, he was able to achieve his original objective, namely, to get the members of the community to "want what he wanted them to want."

Consequences of the change for the interacting systems. In evaluating the consequences of any sequence of behavior, it is necessary to consider not only the original and the stated aims of a program, but the tangential and unanticipated factors which may only become manifest after the sequence has been completed for some time. On occasion, these late and unlooked-for results detract from or modify goal-achievement. In that sense, they may be considered as the negative, or dysfunctional, aspects of behavior as contrasted with those which are affirmative, or functional. This type of classification will be utilized in discussing the consequences of the change process described. . . .

From the standpoint of both the change and target systems, the functional aspects of the change process were most apparent to an observer. In the first place, the Extension Service could point to the imposing county record of barns built, chickens raised, milk sold, and so on. The increase in the production of agricultural products and the value of physical plant and facilities were undeniable. The material objectives were certainly achieved. Furthermore, the "voluntary" technique employed by Barton, as change agent, appeared to be mainly responsible for penetrating an initially recalcitrant community.

As a corollary of Barton's technique, an efficient network of interaction and communication between the change and target systems had been developed. This eliminated waste effort in disseminating information and implementing new programs. Thus, from an administrative standpoint, Extension work in Oak County was economical with reference to the agent's time, while providing the necessary coverage of the target system.

The beneficial results of the program for the target system also stemmed from the increased productivity and material wealth of its members. The financial and property gains of Extension cooperators were obvious everywhere, and particularly on the farms of the leaders and the "proteges," who received some extra time and attention from the agent. Since Barton was thought of as a "fellow-worker," his help was more Gemeinschaft-like than if the aid were given through impersonal mass media. This whole "landsman" attitude was, as we have seen, crucial to the acceptance of Barton, first as a person, and then as representative of a larger, external system.

For Barton himself, the exceptional record of Oak County in Extension work enhanced his prestige and reputation within the change system. He was respected and sometimes envied by his fellow agents, and his opinions and suggestions were usually received favorably by his administrative superiors. Although many of his personal characteristics and habits exhibited an excess of individualism, the results of his work outweighed such deficiencies. Barton achieved a high degree of self-confidence from his Oak County experience, and he felt secure in the good graces of the target system. In fact, his position as the symbol of Extension work in the county appeared unshakeable, and this local support was a resource which he cultivated and utilized with ingenuity.

Although the foregoing statement of functional results is impressive, there is the proverbial "other side of the coin" to be examined. Here, there may be less weight of evidence to support contentions being made, or perhaps too short a period may have elapsed in the change process to bring the dysfunctional elements into clear perspective. In any event, several points will be discussed as at least potential dysfunctional elements in the situation.

With respect to Barton's astute assessment and cultivation of the Mennonite community, his very concentration on this target system led to a neglect of the remaining farming population in the county. The non-Mennonites had experienced a long period of rejection by the Mennonite community, which they regarded as clannish and self-centered. Therefore, Barton's identification with the target system aroused feelings of resentment and criticism among those who were outside the interactive "set." These negative attitudes were, in some measure, transferred to Extension itself, although many were personalized in terms of the local situation. This type of reaction suggests that change agents can easily overlook elements in the change environment which might upset their plans at a future time. Disregard of minority groups can be serious if the distribution of influence should be changed. Barton's case was particularly risky because of the non-political mores of the Mennonite creed. This meant that formal local government was in the hands of out-group persons, and their opposition could have been formidable if the size and self-sufficiency of the target system had been less pronounced. In a less definitive situation, Barton's one sided approach would probably have been less successful than it was in Oak County. As it was, there were numerous complaints of Barton's favoritisms, especially where the key Mennonite leaders and "proteges" were concerned.

There was also some evidence that even in the seemingly unshakeable relationship between the agent and the target system leadership, some instabilities were emerging. Some farmers voiced irritation with Barton's traits and mannerisms more than they praised his professional qualities. He was variously described as "long-winded," "evasive," "domineering," and "pig-headed." In the same vein, two of the "proteges" and their wives expressed discomfort at receiving so much preferential treatment. While pleased with their material prosperity, they were conscious of a coolness on the part of their neighbors and they were beginning to be self-conscious about their favored position. They were on the verge of rejecting some of Barton's program because it was literally "too successful" in their cases by comparison with the rest of the community. As a result of being "demonstrators," they were now in danger of being labeled as "teacher's pets" who could not succeed without paternalistic support. Psychologically, of course, this uneasiness would be detrimental to the healthy community life of those involved.

Therefore, the change agent must be careful not to overplay his hand, even when his programs are meeting favorable response. A gross imbalance in prosperity, in personal contacts, as in power within a target system, can destroy the efforts of a change system to gain its general objectives. A voluntary cooperative system can sometimes accentuate inequalities in a target system rather than eliminate them. The fact that Barton worked largely through selected persons made him seem remote to those with whom he had little contact. His current tendency to spend little time in Oak County appeared to be slowly dissipating the personal acceptance which was the foundation of his initial success.

Turning now to the effect upon the change system itself, it becomes clear that the history of Barton's work in Oak County is an unusual example of how the application of Extension principles might work out in optimum circumstances. Statistically, as has been pointed out, the findings are inclined to vindicate those principles (voluntarism, decentralization of policy-making, and high administrative sensitivity to "grass roots" sentiment).

However, the acceptance of Extension work under these rubrics was not without cost to the change system as a whole. In Barton's case, it insulated him effectively from control by those to whom he was nominally responsible. This administrative acceptance of agent autonomy led to considerable disregard of general bureaucratic procedures, and all but removed the agent from disciplinary action, except by request of "grass roots" leadership. Thus, in order to gain access and legitimacy for its goals, the Extension Service was willing to sacrifice a large amount of control over its own agent personnel. This was justified in terms of cultural values which were esteemed in the larger society. But the administrators found themselves dependent upon a series of "grass roots"-agent coalitions which made state-wide efficiency and policy-making difficult to achieve. Also, the agent's position, as part of both the change and target systems, made it possible for him to play one against the other whenever he deemed it worth while for his own purposes.

From Barton's point of view, his personification of Extension work made him the recipient of criticism, as well as praise. If things went wrong, people were inclined to blame him individually, instead of the "government." Extension work and the agent himself became almost synonymous with one another, and it was impossible for the change system to function in Oak County at all unless it was channeled through Barton. While this may not be dysfunctional as long as Barton continued in his job, this non-replaceability would make adjustment and acceptance of another agent very difficult. Any new personnel would certainly be judged in terms of Barton's own image rather than in terms of the Extension system as a whole. Thus, the danger of one-man control was that it placed a heavy burden upon successors in the same role.

From the foregoing discussion of the various consequences emanating from agricultural Extension work in Oak County, it is apparent that any final assessment of a particular program of directed change cannot be made too hastily or by an awareness of only its surface results. The criteria of success for social change are often dependent upon its indirect efforts and upon its "staying power" over an extended period of time. This does not mean that critical evaluation of the change process must be postponed until all the facts are in, because they never are. However, there must be both opportunity and motivation on the part of change systems and agents to observe the secondary effects of their efforts, and to allow the unanticipated consequences to become recognizable. This is true not only in regard to the target system, but applies to procedures and relationships within the change system itself.

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Glossary

Abstract Social System. (*See* Social System.)

Authority. (*See* Power.)

Boundary Maintenance. The process whereby the system retains its identity and interaction pattern.

Caste. A class that is more or less strictly hereditary.

Center Activities. Those non-agricultural and other non-field pursuits concerned with the processing of raw materials. (*See* Field Activities.)

Class. A group of persons having approximately the same social status in a society, and united by many bonds. In most societies, the most important bonds are those of family, clique, and occupational organizations.

Clique. A non-kinship group membership varying from two to approximately thirty persons. *Note:* Sometimes part of the membership of clique groups are related by blood ties, but it is not a kinship group in the sense that the family is. This is the group next to the family in terms of intimacy.

Communication. The process by which information, decisions, and directives pass through a social system, and the ways which knowledge, opinions, and attitudes are formed and modified.

Community. (*See* Trade-Center Community.)

Concrete Social System. (*See* Social System.)

Conjugal. A family organization consisting of parents and children, the central core of which is husband and wife.

Consanguine. A family organization consisting of relatives, the central core of which is blood relatives.

Decision-Making. The process whereby alternative courses of action are reduced.

Ends or Objectives. Those changes which members of a social system expect to accomplish through the operation of the system. Retaining the *status quo,* rather than a change, is also a possible end or objective of certain systems.

Facilities. The means used by the system to attain its ends or objectives.

Field Activities. Those pursuits concerned with agriculture, mining, and forestry.

Gemeinschaft. This term may best be defined by relating it to its opposite, *Gesellschaft.* For both terms we rely upon the usage of Ferdinand Toennies, who made the greatest contribution to the development and diffusion of the concepts, both within Germany, where the concepts originated, and outside Germany. Social action which is Gemeinschaft-like in nature is characterized by what Toennies calls "natural will." In action which is motivated by natural will, it is scarcely possible to differentiate end or goal from the means. Thus the relationship between true friends persists not because they accomplish more because of the relationship than they could separately, although this may well be the case, but rather because the relationship is an end in and of itself. Thus groups which are Gemeinschaft-like in nature have their basis in the "natural will" motivation which may be sacred, traditional, spontaneous, and/or emotional, as contrasted with the *Gesellschaft,* characterized by "rational will," which is by nature secular, rational, efficient, and planned. Groups controlled by Gemeinschaft-like sentiments value persons, especially the members, as ends in and of themselves, whereas the Gesellschaft-like group relations are impersonal, and members are means to ends. The authority pattern in Gemeinschaft-like organizations may be either of the authoritarian or the fellowship or democratic type. The latter type has existed in the type of "group of equals" known as brotherhoods; the former may be a patriarchal family.

Gesellschaft. The motivation which controls groups dominated by Gesellschaft-like characteristics has been called by Ferdinand Toennies "rational will." In this type of action, means and ends are sharply differentiated and the means are chosen according to norms of efficiency, with a minimum interference of the sacred, traditional, emotional, or personal involvement resulting in such sentiments as loyalty. In the Gesellschaft-like group, associates combine to attain specific objectives and interpersonal relationships are means to ends, not ends in and of themselves. The authority pattern of the *Gesellschaft* may, as in the case of the *Gemeinschaft,* be either of the authoritarian or the democratic or fellowship type. The former type might be represented by a government bureau, the latter by a "company of equals," as some hospital staffs of physicians or departments of college teachers.

Influence. (*See* Power.)

Neighborhood. An area containing a small number of families characterized by "neighboring" and mutual aid. The neighborhood is usually regarded as the smallest of the locality groups. It may be composed of several clique, friendship, or kinship groups. There are many rural areas, especially in the fringe areas of cities, where people have no identification with a specific rural neighborhood, but where they usually belong to overlapping and intertwined clique, friendship, or kinship groups.

Norms. The rules or guiding standards which prescribe what is socially acceptable. The norms govern the application of means in the attainment of ends or objectives.

Power. Power is the control over others. Two components are authoritory, or the right as determined by the system to control the actions of others, and influence, or control over others which is non-authoritative in character. Hence, the latter is based upon such elements as human relation's skills.

Sanctions. Those potential satisfaction-giving or depriving mechanisms at the disposal of the system which induce compliance with ends and norms. Thus sanctions may be positive or negative.

Social-Cultural Linkage. The process whereby the elements of at least two systems come to be articulated, so that in some ways they function as a unit.

Social Rank. The hierarchical arrangement of members of systems, based upon consensus as to what is to be rated high and what low.

Status-Roles. That which is expected in a given status or position.

Social System. A cooperative social structure consisting of two or more individuals who interact with each other at a higher rate than with non-members when the system is in operation (Concrete Social System); patterns of relationships persisting from generation to generation and from region to region (Abstract Social System).

Trade Center Community. An area consisting of a trade center and surrounding farm population in social interaction, often of a business as well as a non-business, character. The term "community" has been used in many different ways. Perhaps the most useful is that of MacIver, who defines the community as "any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share, not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives."

Territoriality. The spatial arrangements and requirements of social systems.

Value Orientation. A basic type-part of all social systems, comprising primarily norms and ends or objectives.

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